

GAUGING THE OUTCOMES OF ORGANIZATIONAL DIVERSITY
IMPLEMENTATIONS: THE INTERSECTION OF ATTITUDES, AWARENESS AND
BEHAVIOR

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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by Heidi Tarr Henson
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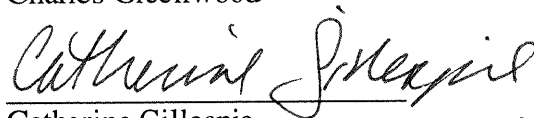
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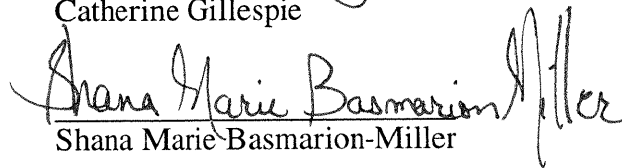
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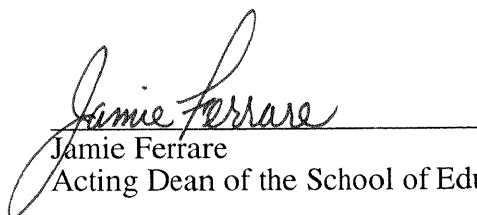
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BIAS STATEMENT

Before beginning the analysis of the data from these sites, I would like to briefly address my relationship to the subject matter explored in this study. I am a consultant in the area of diversity education and I teach a graduate course that specifically addresses the design and measurement of diversity training. While the intention of this study was to uncover whether diversity implementations generated attitudinal change, I began this research with the assumption that they did. Furthermore, as stated in Chapter 3, the sites chosen for this study were institutions I was somewhat familiar with prior to conducting interviews there. This familiarity comes simply from living in the same geographic area, not from my having worked at either institution. I do not believe this familiarity prejudiced my analysis, but rather enhanced my ability to understand the dilemmas of geography and demography outlined in Chapters 4 and 5.

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An abstract of a Dissertation by
Heidi Tarr Henson
May 1998
Advisor: Charles Greenwood

This dissertation examines the attitudinal and behavioral outcomes from diversity education implementations in both a corporate and an academic institution. At each site, I explored whether attitudinal changes had occurred as a result of the diversity programs conducted there. At both sites, I found that attitudes towards diversity were not changed significantly as a result of diversity education, either within respondents or in their impressions of other members of the organization.

At both sites, respondents indicated that while attitudinal change may not have occurred, an "awareness" of diversity was achieved. To enhance acceptance of diversity and to better generate attitudinal change, respondents indicated that diversity needs to be put in the best interests of constituents. At the corporation, "best interests" relates to diversity being part of the employees' evaluation and job responsibilities. At Nova State University, "best interests" referred more to faculty members having their efforts towards enhancing diversity rewarded financially.

The results from Agribank indicated that many respondents felt that diversity training was "common sense" and that the content was a reiteration of the "golden rule" principle for human behavior. Many respondents also felt that they already understood diversity issues and that cultural difference should not be the focus of concern at Agribank.

At Nova State University, a central limiting factor to the acceptance of diversity education is that it is not currently required of faculty or staff. There are many efforts across the university to address diversity-related issues, but there seems to be a lack of unity and common purpose. A recent adoption of a diversity course requirement for undergraduate students may help to enhance the climate for diversity at this site.

A common conclusion from both sites is that there needs to be greater and more visible leadership support for enhancing diversity. Without this, these programs are not likely to generate any long-term, positive affective or behavioral outcome. With this support, there is a far greater likelihood of generating greater commitment from members of the organization, and ultimately greater outcomes than have thus far been achieved at either institution.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The term "diversity" has many definitions, even within a specific environment. It can refer to multiculturalism, diverse cultural backgrounds, population bases, human resource initiatives, among other central topics. For the purposes of this study, diversity will refer to the prescribed efforts made on the part of institutions, as represented by corporations and universities, to raise awareness of cultural bias and tensions in order to create a productive and inclusive environment for their constituents. The constituents of the population at the corporation are the employees of all levels. In the university, there is a broader array of constituents: faculty, staff, administrators and students. Because of this difference, the form that diversity efforts take in an institution varies greatly between particular environments.

In the corporation, diversity education is most often a form of training that centers around legal issues like sexual harassment, affirmative action, equal opportunity for employment, and treatment of persons with disabilities. It also focuses on social and cultural issues, and the relations among workers of diverse age, genders, races, classes, educational levels, religions, abilities and sexual orientation. Corporations are most successful in their efforts when they set their own parameters for defining diversity and determine what objectives and outcomes their training and initiatives will target (Diamante, Giglio & Reid, 1995).

Corporate diversity training began to emerge in the 1970s with companies like Digital, Xerox and IBM offering short term training that addressed the cultural makeup of their work forces (Caudron, 1993). It did not become a staple of corporate training initiatives, however, until the late 1980s and 1990s. Throughout this time, the definition and application of corporate diversity has changed. The current literature, for example, reflects that many human resource practitioners consider diversity to be a management issue; namely, how does one manage a diverse group of workers and plan for the projected increase in the diversity of the American

work force? According to various demographers, by the year 2000, women and minorities will constitute 85% of new entrants into the labor market (Thomas, 1991). In addition, there will be a large number of older and retiring workers as the baby-boomer population ages. With the increasing importance of knowledge-based work over industrial labor, there is a projected lack of educational competency among younger entrants to the work force. All of these changes, and others, will likely drive corporations to develop new forms of diversity training efforts (Jamieson & O'Mara, 1991).

The meaning of "diversity" in the academic environment is equally broad and malleable. Academic diversity is often referred to as "multiculturalism", which is generally considered a philosophy and ideology that centers around addressing race, class, gender, ethnicity and disability in an effort to promote equality and social justice (Grant & Sleeter, 1986). As a cultural and intellectual phenomenon, it grew out of the civil and women's rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s (Grant & Tate, 1994). The rhetoric and concerns of social movements from this time period have become institutionalized in the American university campus and classroom. For example, since the 1960s, universities have addressed affirmative action guidelines in terms of faculty hires and student admissions. Increasingly, universities are providing some form of diversity training for various campus populations, and faculty and students often address diversity issues in the classroom. Through an emphasis on diversity, or multiculturalism, many campuses now offer courses on ethnicity, race, and gender that focus on exploring student and faculty experiences outside the classroom (Fitzgerald & Lauter, 1995).

Given that the university has traditionally managed broader aspects of its constituents' lives, in terms of living situation, moral and ethical development, career path, etc., than the corporation, discussions of diversity likely have more applications in this environment. Most often, however, academic diversity refers to multiculturalism in course content, affirmative action policies in hiring and admissions, "political correctness" in speech codes, and minority student sub-populations and cultural conflict. The tenor academic diversity takes, like its

corporate counterpart, ultimately depends on the individual environment and its specific population.

Diversity training is currently not required on every university campus. However, there are universities who are taking cues from the corporate diversity approach that acknowledges that diversity affects employees at every level of an organization (Bell, Hunt, Ingle, & Wei, 1992).

There are various obstacles that limit the success of diversity implementations in both the corporate and university environments. Many corporations bring in training that is not suited to their corporate culture. Moreover, they often open up sensitive issues and problems for workers, but do not give them the means to solve them (Thomas, 1991). The real threat, however, to the future of diversity training seems to come from there being no reliable data about its effectiveness. There is a distinct lack of empirical research on the success of diversity training and teaching and it has yet to be tracked in any substantive way. Many scholars agree that trainers and human resource managers would be better able to start diversity initiatives and make diversity training successful if they were supported by a stronger research base linking workforce heterogeneity to various interventions and outcomes (Rosen & Rynes, 1995).

In academe there are continued efforts to incorporate diversity training into faculty and staff development. This seems to evolve from several concerns. It is partly a reflection of the times, in that diversity training has become mandatory in some arenas, namely many law enforcement and government institutions. These efforts are also partially driven by specific instances of discrimination, harassment and hate speech on many campuses. Arguably, diversity education is also an outcropping of the methods of younger faculty and the emergence and acceptance of active and collaborative learning theories wherein power and authority in the classroom is examined and perhaps altered. Perhaps crucially, faculty and staff development provides a vehicle for addressing increasing student demand for real world knowledge and representation within the campus community. Such methods are not without their critics, however. Since the emergence of the civil rights, women's and gay rights movements in the

1960s, and the more recent accommodations to diversity on college campuses, there has been a great deal of backlash from students, political conservatives, and various scholars and cultural critics. Their line of reasoning centers around many issues, chief among them is the threat to traditional curricula, the teaching of Western perspectives of history, the legitimacy of affirmative action and the definition of academic freedom for university faculty (Aufderheide, 1992).

Theoretical Background of Research

To my knowledge, there has yet to be any theoretically-grounded, published research comparing corporate diversity training and the teaching of diversity in higher education. In addition, as previously stated, there is not a reliable research base on the outcomes or effectiveness of teaching diversity issues in either the corporate or university environment. Thus, the theoretical framework of this study cannot be based directly on this subject. As this dissertation explores attitudinal change resulting from diversity education, the theory base will focus on scholars in the fields of adult and traditional student learning and development.

The fundamental difference in teaching diversity in the corporation and the university rests on the nature of the experience the learners expect. Participants in a university structure expect educational change; it is part of the experience, a factor of the environment. Workers in a corporation might expect to learn some new skills through training, but not to develop new "selves." Teaching a diverse group of business people in a condensed corporate classroom setting has its limitations in any subject, but it is especially suspect for diversity. It is hard to gauge the training's application; learners come from diverse knowledge levels and experience; the training is usually condensed; the trainer might not be sufficiently skilled or the training poorly designed. All of these factors are compounded by the sensitive nature of the topic; diversity often involves changing attitudes. This is a tricky objective; arguably, an adult's attitude is already formed. Altering attitudes might happen occasionally, only over time, or not at all. Despite the obstacles of teaching diversity, however, many of the characteristics of adult learners indicate that they can be open to this type of change.

The belief that adults can experience attitudinal change throughout the life span is supported in much of the literature in the humanist paradigm of psychology and education. Abraham Maslow (1982) emphasized an adult's need to grow in perspective and "self-actualize" to his/her highest potential as an individual. This process naturally entails the changing of attitudes and challenging of previously-accepted beliefs. Carl Rogers (1980), who often worked from Maslow's theories, also supported the theory of self-actualization and attitudinal growth in adults. Lawrence Kohlberg, who developed a stage theory of adult moral development, proposed a model that in part centered around adult attitudinal change marked by developing concern for moral and humanistic issues (1981). Last, Jack Mezirow, a professor of adult education, attributed to adults the theory of perspective transformation, whereby adults "become critically aware of how and why the structure of psycho-cultural assumptions has come to constrain the way we see ourselves and our relationships, reconstituting this structure to permit a more inclusive integration of experience and acting upon these experiences" (1981).

Malcolm Knowles, a leading theorist in adult education, drew much of his theories on adult attitudinal change from the work of Maslow. Knowles asserts that teaching adults in the work place is a means for organizations not only to increase work competencies, but also to increase their employees ability to meet their personal needs for safety, affection, esteem and self-actualization (Knowles, 1980, 1990). This assertion fits well with one of the more central objectives of diversity initiatives, which is to create an environment where the needs of each individual employee can be appreciated and ultimately met (Jamieson & O'Mara 1991).

Knowles (1990) asserts, too, that adults can change, and that "old dogs" can ultimately learn "new tricks". Such an affective, or attitudinal, change often occurs through major life events that alter an adult's perspective, like marriage, the birth of a child or death of a loved one. While expectations and activities for learning are often confined to the young (age 21 and younger) and often much of work and family life can become routine, a sense of discovery and renewed intellectual curiosity and growth can and should be developed in adults.

William Draves (1984), like Knowles, outlines several of these properties when he offers a model for teaching adult learners. In general, Draves argues, adults possess a readiness, and often a need, to learn. They are open to the changes required by the process of learning. This is certainly true of adults who go back to school, but may be less so of adults entering corporate training. Certainly their willingness may largely depend on the subject and their interest in developing the skill. Draves asserts that the tasks and roles of an adult's life already demand a good deal of adjustment, accomplishment and learning. Furthermore, he asserts, though society does not keep always keep adults engaged in lifelong learning, it does create needs and wants that encourage them to "grow" throughout their life roles and stages (Draves, 1984). He also adds that adult learning works best when it is problem-centered, as adults enjoy solving or addressing problems and are often able to apply their real-world experience to the subject at hand. Such a desire could certainly be channeled into tackling the issue of corporate diversity, as adults could apply their experiences (experiential learning) in their roles in work, family and society.

Stephen Brookfield (1988), like Knowles a primary theorist in adult education, states that the responsibility of an adult educator lies in seeking this type of development. He states that "learning is being effectively facilitated when the educator is prompting in learners a sense of the culturally constructed nature of knowledge, beliefs, values, and behaviors" (Brookfield, 1988, p. 146). Accomplishing this requires that the facilitator present alternative interpretations of the learner's work and family lives, and social and political views. While this is best facilitated in the context of educational institutions, as they are more focused on the development of critical thinking, corporate training can also encourage workers to be aware of underlying cultural assumptions and norms. In a successful corporate learning environment, workers are also encouraged to challenge existing conditions and ultimately posit new changes and innovations (Brookfield, 1988).

This is certainly a condition that can arise in diversity education or a diversity training session, where adults are often asked not only to challenge their own beliefs and attitudes, but

also to challenge the organization's policies and procedures. Successful diversity training also demands that adults be engaged in critical self reflection, as it has been argued that the extent to which adults remain racist, sexist and ethnocentric depends on the extent to which they have questioned their own personal neuroses and biases and have determined how secure they are with their own identity (Fernandez, 1991). While such self-assessment is often addressed in a diversity training course, it is the responsibility of the manager to lead participants to actualize their discoveries. The body of work on this issue asserts that it is the role of the manager to facilitate the affective change process. Managers should not only develop plans for changes in workplace policies, procedures and relationships, but also to help build commitment among employees, manage the politics of the organization and continue to drive the implementation of diversity training efforts. Likewise, the manager must be self-reflective, and willing to understand and accommodate different values and attitudes (Jamieson & O'Mara, 1991). The affective change that adults can undergo through diversity training often centers on their willingness and the on the value of training itself, yet it is crucial that the manager assess the organization's cultural makeup and work to involve everyone in developing and facilitating innovation.

Unlike adult learners, traditional college students are expected to undergo great affective changes in the learning process. Pascarella and Terenzini (1991) address the specific ways in which students change during college. One of the most important affective changes is becoming more aware of who they are while concurrently developing more tolerance and empathy for others. Generally, students learn more about themselves and the world around them. This often involves a re-alignment of their perspectives on their class background, religious orientation, family dynamic, and so on. There is also evidence that students experience an increase in self-identity and self-esteem as well as changes in the way they relate to people, institutions and conditions in their external world. Students generally move from seeing the obedience to authority as a moral good itself to seeing the larger principle of social justice as the basis upon which to make moral decisions. Often students become less dogmatic and more liberal in their

value structures. These changes do not occur in a vacuum, rather they are accompanied by other cognitive and psychosocial changes (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991).

There are many elements that propel student change throughout college such as living away from home and family, with new and diverse people, and concurrently learning about new subjects and having new experiences. Learning to appreciate the lives of others might be an occasional end-product of getting a college education. At best, this is haphazard. Jane Fried, in her discussion of "border pedagogy" (Giroux, 1991) outlines a more defined and pro-active plan for increasing cultural understanding and cross-cultural relations. Most diversity education on American campuses treats difference as "empty pluralism", she argues, and does not acknowledge the history of differences (Fried & Associates, 1995). Instead, universities must involve all levels of staff, students and faculty in crossing borders to understand the perspective of other groups who do not have the same experience or outlook on the mission of the university, or their role within it. Such change is disruptive and difficult, Fried states, but it is vital to the future of higher education.

Chickering and Gamson outline several ways that educators must employ what they term "good practice." Among the seven items they list, three center around an incorporation of cultural diversity. Educators must develop reciprocity and cooperation among students, using active learning techniques, and respecting diverse talents and ways of learning. All of these principles are concurrent with developing moral attitudes in learners, but also in faculty. As Jamieson and O'Mara do for corporations, Chickering and Gamson (1987) outline the responsibility of students, teachers and administrators in changing university structure to create an environment that is more conducive to creating best practices and to better serving student diversity.

Statement of the Problem

How is diversity "taught" in the corporation and at the university? What are the intentions of these efforts and the eventual outcomes? What is needed to ensure more "successful" outcomes, as defined by the environment?

This study examines these questions about diversity training and teaching in both the corporate and academic environment. To date, no study has been located that has done this. Corporate training literature offers many tips for the content and facilitation of diversity training but there is no substantive data on its effectiveness or even what specific skill levels or competencies are needed for trainers and participants. Literature concerning diversity in higher education also fails to offer specific results about the outcomes of curricular and climatic change. Much of the literature on academic multiculturalism centers on student programs and innovative teaching methods. It often offers as an objective the development of a "raised awareness" or an "increased sensitivity" to cultural difference among students, but does not outline the ways that such a phenomenon can be attained or measured.

The methodological approach in this area thus far has centered around analysis of case study. Most of the major authors in this area -- Thomas (1991), Jamieson and O'Mara (1991), Fernandez (1991), Fried (1994) and others -- focus their discussions of diversity implementations on the programs and incidents of specific environments. In their analysis, they rarely cite concrete data collected from these sites. In fact, they write about the need for such data.

While the corporate writers offer their suggestions for future diversity implementations, their information is generally garnered through consulting with specific organizations, rather than through conducting systematically designed studies. The university assessments are centered around particular campuses, and the issues faced by students, faculty and staff in dealing with conflicts over minority populations and multiculturalism.

This study explores, then, a seemingly uncharted area: how two distinct environments differ in their approach to diversity education. This examination was undertaken in order to determine what combination of these approaches could ensure positive affective results for both environments. By examining a corporate and a university environment and the positive and negative elements of their diversity implementations, I have identified several practices for training and teaching diversity that can be applied to either the corporate or university structure.

To furnish data for this study, I conducted interviews with 29 individuals in various ranks at a corporation¹ and another 31 individuals (faculty, staff, and one student) at a university.² The results of these interviews were transcribed and the data was then coded into themes or categories that cut across the interviews. The interview data was compiled into a case study of that environment.

I then compared the two environments in terms of how each institution addresses diversity issues. This analysis is structured through direct quotes from the interviews, longer summaries of the personal statements and an assessment of key themes that cut across the 60 interviews. This approach is explained in greater detail in Chapters Two and Three.

While the interview protocols are also stated in Chapter Three, the interviews focused around determining:

- What are the objectives for affective and organizational change of this institution in designing diversity implementations?
- What were the outcomes of these implementations and how have the implementations met or failed to meet these objectives?
- What implications for diversity implementations can be determined by examining these two institutional environments?

¹See Appendix B for listing of names and job titles

²See Appendix C for listing of names and job titles

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

FOUNDATIONAL AND METHODOLOGICAL

While the research questions outlined in the previous chapter focus on case studies, this review of literature examines the teaching and training of diversity within the two institutional environments -- the corporation and the university. It explores two central questions:

- (1) What considerations are there for designing content and method for training and teaching diversity?
- (2) What elements are needed to ensure successful attitudinal and organizational outcomes from these approaches?

In this review and ultimately in this dissertation, I sought to explore the crossover between the content of diversity education and its outcomes in both institutional environments. Likewise, rather than separating my results into positive and negative outcomes, in this review I chose to discuss the broader results of implementing diversity content and gauging outcomes.

Dimensions of Diversity Education in the Corporate Environment

Cultural Audit

A cultural audit is mainly used to help managers and trainers decide what type of training the corporation needs. As there are many different types of organizations, there are many types of training. As training is meant to be outcome-based, and diversity training is often not, then it is even more important to choose the right type of training for that company's issues. It saves not only time and money, but the impression on the employees that the training objectives don't address them and that they are not worth their commitment.

According to *Training Can Damage Diversity Efforts* (Caudron, 1993), companies should gain a sense of prejudice in the workplace through a cultural audit before they begin diversity initiatives, as the worst thing is for these attitudes to emerge in the training workshops. While the training itself must address stereotypes in order to be effective, trainers must address them constructively. Caudron asserts that "training is likely to be ineffective when it focuses on confronting stereotypes without giving any emphasis to developing the skills needed to bring awareness of these stereotypes back to the workplace" (p. 58).

Audits not only help delineate training needs, but help direct company structures as well. "Once a company finishes its analysis of its employees, labor pool and customer base, it should take the information and consider making changes in its structures or policies" (Geber, 1990, p. 25).

Several corporate authors suggest that management is the best company body to facilitate an audit. However the author of *The Corporate Response to Workplace Diversity* (Solomon, 1989) offers another alternative when discussing Honeywell's diversity program: "The company has experienced a better success rate addressing needs when the employees are asked directly what they need to feel included rather than asking management (which is predominantly white and male) what employees need" (p. 6).

The issue of a cultural audit within a university does not have the same application. Universities are generally aware of the demographics of their student body, and minorities are and have traditionally been just that -- a minority -- within the university system. These population groups, as well as other cultural groups, often have organizations and legislative bodies within the university to address their concerns. A potential for the cultural audit within the university, however, might be to more publicly and accurately target issues of bias and discord within the institution.

Management Support:

One of the central ways in which diversity initiatives are proven unsuccessful is by administrators not taking an active part and making a visible commitment to the issue. When

training programs are half-hearted, they generally don't work. Employees realize that the company doesn't care, thus they conclude they should not have to either. No change can occur if the leadership doesn't provide a clear example.

Within the corporate setting, this means that management makes a formal commitment to diversity. They must attend the training and they likely create advisory boards to attempt to track results. In *Managing Diversity* (1994), Rice states that getting the CEO's commitment is the first step in diversity training. By the CEO meeting with employees, he/she shows them how important diversity is. Furthermore, the article suggests, a CEO can make diversity a criteria for managers' salaries and bonuses. In addition to being committed to diversity initiatives, top executives should experience what it is like to be a minority by joining work groups where they are not in the dominant position.

In *Training Can Damage Diversity Efforts*, the author suggests that not only must managers attend diversity training, they must be the ones to work through the questions the training raises. "A diversity effort must have commitment from the top ... the upper levels of an organization must understand the value of a diverse work force, direct the strategies to support diversity and model the appropriate behaviors" (Caudron, 1993, p. 60). As in any institutional setting, change will not occur if what it said and what is done do not coincide.

In academe, this commitment is evidenced not only through administrative support for diversity, but also through faculty and staff development. *Cross-Cultural Literacy* offers a five item manifesto for educators to commit to. Among their suggestions are continued research, teacher training, curricular innovations and implementations of ethnographic methods for illuminating diverse perspectives (Arvisu & Saravia-Shore, 1990).

Though management support is crucial to the success of any diversity initiative, whether it is at the corporation or university, management can cause more problems than they solve. According to Moses in *The Challenge of Diversity: Anthropological Perspectives on University Culture* (1990), it is the nature of hierarchies, or a powerful top management, that causes tension between diverse groups. While university administrators may try to hire faculty and staff from

minority groups, they often have misconceptions about their abilities. They assume that minorities are not qualified for their positions, or that they do not have the capabilities of non-minority employees. In addition to having to overcome this stereotype, minority hires are expected to handle counseling other students of color and being an active participant in the multicultural objectives of the university. Moses says that it is these expectations that keep minority hiring initiatives from being successful and that "university faculty and administration must examine their own biases and prejudices before they can expect students to do so" (p. 404).

Continued Exposure:

Another pitfall for implementing diversity initiatives is the obstacle to change caused by not having continual diversity efforts in place. In the corporation, the time allotted for diversity training is often too short or there is no follow-up training to facilitate implementing new concepts and to gauge progress. Successful corporate diversity efforts include having special committees that meet regularly to discuss progress and continued concerns in the corporation. Mentoring programs are often set up for employees from cultural groups and non-minority employees so that they may learn from each other and about diversity "first hand." Other institutions offer frequent cultural and educational events that expose constituents to new ideas and cultures.

It is important to note that nearly all the articles said that without a formal time commitment to diversity, by managers, staff and university faculty and staff, there will be not noticeable outcomes. As Thomas points out in *The Downside of Diversity*: "There are two ways to alter a culture: by revolution or by a deliberate, gradual and cautious program designed to shift attitudes" (p. 62). A revolution does not seem possible or prudent for many institutions, thus continued exposure seems the better choice.

In academe, the issue of long term efforts generally applies to how universities bring diverse groups into the system and how they are beginning to address diverse subject positions within the curriculum. Affirmative action in university admissions has been around for some time, but it has been called into legal question recently in California and Texas and nationally by

various scholars. So, while there are long term efforts addressed towards broadening demographics and curriculum, there are also continued threats to these efforts within institutions of higher learning.

A significant threat to diversity efforts in both environments is the lack of empirical research on the success of diversity training and teaching. Nearly every article cites that the success of diversity training and teaching has not been tracked in any substantive way. Some larger corporations, who have been offering diversity training longer, such as Digital, Xerox and IBM, do cite that their attraction and retention of minority candidates has increased. Likewise, many companies cite a perceived success in the productivity of their heterogeneous work teams. *Managing Diversity* (1990) refers loosely to studies from the University of Texas about the competitive edge of heterogeneous work teams. The uniqueness of each employee benefits the organization by offering diverse perspectives and continual innovation. In addition, some companies detect increased workplace harmony and some decrease in harassment and discrimination charges. This works two ways. While discussion of bias might open up new discrimination claims by creating broader definitions, it is also more difficult for employees to claim wrongful bias when diversity initiatives are in place. By making diversity initiatives, the company has shown it is making an effort to address these issues. *

While all of these results are pertinent to the determination of diversity training outcomes, none of them answers the question: "Does Diversity training work?" or "Does it effect real change?" Part of the difficulty is that the method for gauging diversity implementations cannot easily be constructed. Not only is this type of information sensitive, it does not lend itself to definition. What does it mean for diversity training to "work"? If it decreases workplace bias claims and tension, then it might be working. If it helps a company to attract target of opportunity candidates, then it has an outcome. If it keeps a company in touch with the times and with legal considerations, then it does, essentially, "work."

Answering the question of definitive outcomes seems nearly impossible. As every article reviewed stated, people bring a long standing set of beliefs to their workplace. These cannot be

changed easily, quickly or sometimes at all. There is no real way to question and quantify if affective changes have taken place. There would be no set time frame, and there would be no way to ask a fair question. "Were you biased prior to training? And do you think you are not biased now?" Even asking these questions before and after training intervention would not likely produce an honest or clear response.

While these questions could not be answered directly, they do have a partial answer. By going through training, employees and students at least become aware of what behaviors corporations and universities expect from them in regard to diverse people and issues. While diversity training is often unclear about the meaning of sensitive behavior, it is often quite clear on the use of non-bias language. The real change might not be attitudinal, but simply an awareness and consideration of a work/learning culture's policy.

Still, the need for real results lingers in every article, for the future of diversity initiatives may rest on it. This need is best summed up in the quantitative report *Field Study of Factors Affecting The Adoption and Perceived Success of Diversity Training* : "human resource managers would have a far easier time selling diversity or making diversity training successful if they were supported by a stronger research base linking workforce heterogeneity to various interventions and outcomes" (Rosen & Rynes, 1995, p. 267).

Dimensions of Diversity Programs in an Academic Environment

Faculty and Staff Development:

Much of the literature on student learning centers on the need for students to be exposed to new ideas and learning environments. Bell, et. al. (1992) explain the importance of faculty and staff having a similar exposure in *Monoculturalism to Multiculturalism: Lessons from Three Public Universities* :

We think nothing of throwing students directly into a socially diverse and complex campus culture without providing the necessary guidance,

education and support to help them understand and survive in that new culture. The need is equally serious for ongoing faculty orientation and staff training, particularly about the changing nature of the student population (p. 106).

To address this need, faculty and students can also work together within the classroom to address the ways to not only learn cultural content, but to effect attitudinal change. In "Cultural Pluralism and Core Curricula", the author states that "more than one-third of all colleges and universities now have a multicultural requirement for graduation; at least a third offer course work in ethnic and gender studies; and more than half have introduced multiculturalism into their departmental offerings" (Schmitz, 1992, p. 62). While offering courses won't make everyone take them, requiring some exposure to diversity addresses the need for increasing cultural awareness.

Diverse Curriculum:

One of the main pitfalls for training and teaching diversity is that there is often a content focus on negative stereotyping. Though identifying and discussing stereotypes is a logical way to approach diversity, when trainers and educators dwell too much on stereotypes, it is often to the detriment of other important diversity issues. As previously stated, a focus on stereotypes can hinder the positive outcomes of corporate diversity training.

The debate within academe about diverse content is less fraught with issues of tonality. In a very basic sense, one central aim of education is to learn about differences, about the diverse perspectives of the world. Since the 1960s, humanities curriculum has attempted to integrate some analysis of race, ethnicity and gender. This emerged out of an increased societal awareness and the civil rights' and feminist movements. A more recent conclusion is that faculty, staff and students need a more formalized exposure to understanding difference in a multiplicity of ways. The difference that they experience is an important element of their lives, and curricula can hopefully address this (Adams & Marchesani, 1992a).

In the article "Dynamics of Diversity in the Teaching-Learning Process: A Faculty Development Model for Analysis and Action", the authors offers the observation that faculty are not prepared for student diversity in the college classroom. It asks the question "How do we (teachers) facilitate diverse student learning? The premise is that the European male, or traditional, model of pedagogy and curriculum is still in dominance at most academic institutions and it is difficult for women and people of color to have a voice in the classroom. The homogeneous body of students (generally white males) fit easily into the scholastic environment and the targeted students are often isolated, alienated and only have a voice when they are called upon to represent the viewpoint of the minority of which they are part.

The authors present a four-part model of how teachers can combat this hegemony. They first must learn about their students' cultural orientation, then examine their own prior socialization. Next, teachers must examine the course content and incorporate diverse social and cultural perspectives. Last, they can develop a broad range of teaching methods that address diverse learning styles. In developing flexible teaching strategies, teachers can learn about new cultures, as well as incorporate group and cross-group learning projects (Adams & Marchesani, 1992a).

The issue of objectives is addressed more specifically by Adams and Marchesani in their article *Cultural Innovations: Social Diversity as Course Content* (1992b). Here they take a stance that is quite similar to the corporate training model in that it is outcome-driven. They suggest that cultural diversity issues be combined with social justice subject matter within the undergraduate curriculum; essentially, they are offering training within teaching. This type of content, they argue, can easily be explored within the disciplines of psychology, anthropology, sociology and women's studies (Adams & Marchesani, 1992).

In "Bias Issues in the Classroom: Encounters with the Teaching Self", Obear and Weinstein also take a "training and teaching" approach for addressing diversity in the college classroom. In terms of content, they advocate that teachers conduct workshops and courses whose express content is bias reduction, to increase learner awareness of inter-group differences

and injustice and to enhance inter-group attitudes and behaviors (O'bear & Weinstein, 1992). If awareness is taken as a primary goal, then this is very similar to the corporate diversity training model. The only difference is the concept of exploring injustice, which has been cited by some authors as a pitfall for achieving positive diversity training outcomes.

"Where Diversity Training Goes Wrong" cites examining stereotypes and social inequities as the central pitfall in diversity education content -- this approach focuses too much on the past, on the history of oppression for women and minorities. Likewise, it is guilt-driven, has an over-focus on semantics and often forces new value systems on participants. When it focuses too closely on changing the behavior of white men and when it is not combined with other training content (for example: management, customer service, team building), it is sure to fail (Karp & Sutton, 1993).

Most of the corporate articles list the steps many corporations take to implement diversity training. As previously stated, it is important to have a company audit before beginning the actual training; trainers and managers must determine the specific concerns and questions of the culture. These results will drive the content. Too often, according to "The Downside of Diversity", "the first step in many companies [is] bringing in an expert to conduct "sensitivity" or "awareness" training...it is also the point at which many employees unfortunately develop an entirely different concept regarding diversity training than management intended" (Thomas, 1994, p. 61). Thomas also finds that the emphasis within the training content is on group therapy, a psychological model, and too much like a college classroom.

The debate within academe over content is not as prescribed as the corporate analysis, because the issue is not as easily defined. In business, diversity is a broad topic; however, its implementation centers around legality and productivity. In academe, academic freedom, discussions of pluralism and various outcomes are not as defined. Nor are they as legislated. While lawsuits have borne and will continue to bear upon university policy, it is arguably the business world who see the need for a direct examination of the correlation between content and outcome.

New Teaching Methods

Part of incorporating new curriculum involves training faculty to work with multicultural issues in their classrooms. This is not an easy task, for as diversity training itself, it involves changing attitudes, in particular those towards authority in the classroom. Stated plainly, what teacher would want to become the student?

Adams and Marchesani, as well as Obear and Weinstein, addressed this issue by interviewing university teachers about their biases. Both sets of authors began with an audit approach, or the premise that each teacher has to identify and understand his or her biases before exploring them in the classroom. Adams and Marchesani in "Curricular Innovation: Social Diversity as Course Content" offer a solution to teaching diversity that is gleaned from the experiential tradition of Dewey, Piaget and Lewin, and "from the techniques of . . . active learning, use of personal experience and local events, simulation activities and discussions and attention to affect, self-reflection and interpersonal skills" (Adams & Marchesani, 1992, p. 93).

Obear and Weinstein more specifically outline new methods for faculty who are uncomfortable exploring diversity issues with their students. Some of their main suggestions for the qualities needed to handle these issues include: self-awareness, tolerance, sensitivity, empathy, humility, patience and a sense of humor (Obear & Weinstein, 1992, p. 49). None of these, of course, are definitive. What does it mean, for example, to be humble or empathetic? It varies by individual and scenario. However, the suggestion seems to be that educators must consider how they teach as much as what they teach, and that they should set goals for new ways to interact with students and sensitive course content.

New methods for teaching cultural awareness will likely develop as the definitions of diversity evolve. For example, there is a recent rise in literature concerning learning styles. "New Directions in Training Individuals" uses the learning style model as a means for how to teach diverse people within one class. If one is able to incorporate styles appealing to all types of learners, one is more likely to be successful in teaching content and enabling retention (Stuart,

1992). Thus, educators and trainers can show appreciation for diversity while teaching others how to do the same.

Other Findings Pertinent to Both Environments

Broad Definitions of Diversity:

Corporate and academic sources concur that the definitions we find for diversity must be kept broad. This affects both the content and the outcome of diversity initiatives, as within a broad definition, one must continually redefine the parameters of the issue. A positive outcome from having broad content is that it is more likely to create a broader cultural awareness. A possible negative outcome is confusion over what exactly constitutes diversity in the respective setting.

As to who decides what diversity encompasses, the authors of "Make the Right Training Move" state that management must be the body to define diversity for the company. They must create a definition of diversity that the organization will use and that will be relevant to its human resource efforts (Diamante, et. al., 1995).

In "Rethinking Diversity", Gordon addresses the misconceptions about the definition of diversity. Too often companies and employees think it only refers to affirmative action and protected groups. However, as Gordon points out, "The problem of diversity... is not limited to questions of race, gender, ethnicities, disabilities and sexual orientation. The differences that sap energy and undermine productivity in an organization extend ... Diversity issues rear their heads whenever different professional mind-sets clash: [for example] the accountants vs. the marketers vs. the engineers" (Gordon, 1992, p. 24). What can make defining diversity difficult is that it opens up such broad categories; when does a company decide that it has identified enough?

In academe, the discussion of broad definitions is not as obtuse. Universities have long had information on exactly who their populations are, and thus have incorporated this idea into at least some key aspects of their structure, within the form of services for student sub-populations. With the increase in curricular innovations too, diversity is being defined in a broader context. This, while problematic for some educators, fits the nature of the university, which is arguably to

promote the exploration of different perspectives. Difference itself is continually compounded, for educators who have offered specific content in diversity often find that "students are in different places of identity development within the same groups . . . as well as across social groups, so that we may anticipate the challenges presented by the collision of strongly held world views." (Adams & Marchesani, 1992, p. 94). Thus a discussion of differences opens up how many there can be even within the same cultural groups.

Projected increases in diversity of population

Nearly every corporate and university article cites an increasing diversity in its student or employee base as a central reason to embark on diversity training and teaching. Most work off the predictions of *Workforce 2000: Work and Workers for the 21st Century*, a 1992 government publication that outlined the (projected) major changes for the work world in the 1990s and the next century. In this book, the authors (Johnston & Packer, 1987) cite the increase in minorities entering into white collar jobs and in the university structure. There are numerous estimates on the increased percentage of ethnic and racial minorities, the shrinking entry-level labor pool, and how women and older workers will enter the workforce in unprecedented numbers (Solomon, 1989). Thus, the thrust to implement diversity training is not only driven by current tensions, but by demographic projections.

Several academic articles seem more open to the concept of existing diversity as the impetus for developing diversity education programs. Multiculturalism, as academic diversity is often termed, has been a part of university concerns since the 1960s. In more recent years, the university power structure has been shared with groups traditionally considered a minority. This may be generated by an acknowledgment of cultural pluralism, and the ways universities should or can address societal issues. Multiculturalism has affected the curriculum by opening a dialogue about what should be taught and what perspectives it is taught from. According to "Cross-Cultural Literacy: An Anthropological Approach to Dealing with Diversity":

It is doubtful that the deteriorated self-image and identity among US.
students can easily be corrected by content-oriented curriculum that

ignores the world economy and political relationships with others throughout the globe and lacks the vision of cross-national, cross-cultural, and multilingual competencies (Arvizu & Saravia-Shore, 1990, p. 374).

Furthermore, while the corporate model cites an increase in minority populations as the true impetus for learning to manage difference, several academic sources say that this emerging population is not being given fair and equal representation. While many colleges and universities in the United States are looking for minority candidates, the lack of mentoring and role models keeps people of color (and others) from going to graduate school and thus from joining faculties. "The educational system largely sponsors white males by offering them more classroom attention, more positive reinforcement, a curriculum that offers likely access to higher education and thus potential earning power, and a greater number of role models and mentors from similar backgrounds" (Bailey, et. al., 1994, p. 68). So, while some demographics may indicate that more minorities are entering the workforce and the university, there are still few support structures to encourage substantial representation or to keep them in these positions.

Related Research on Corporate Diversity Training: Books

There are a number of books that address diversity training in the corporation, and more continue to be published. While none of them specifically assess the broader outcomes of diversity training initiatives, many do analyze the results of particular programs. All deal with diversity as a management issue, and several offer suggestions for designing training to meet management objectives.

Three well-known books that comprehensively address diversity as both a management and training issue are *Beyond Race and Gender: Unleashing the Power of Your Total Workforce by Managing Diversity*, *Managing a Diverse Workforce* and *Managing Workforce 2000: Gaining the Diversity Advantage*. These books are not only reputable and among the first on the topic, they also form the cornerstone of the training program at one of the two institutions this study will focus on.

In *Beyond Race and Gender : Unleashing the Power of Your Total Workforce by Managing Diversity* , R. Roosevelt Thomas (1991) asserts that a cultural audit is vital to an organization beginning diversity efforts. Once they have assessed the results, diversity then must be approached at three levels: individual, personal and organizational. The organization must not simply respect diversity, but also work for "root change", a fundamental shift in its system and culture. It can take twenty years to change a culture, Thomas states, and such change generally comes out of either vision or pain. Thomas offers some research findings regarding the diversity efforts at one company, DAL. Workers were interviewed on mentoring, barriers to success, and company qualities, among other issues. Thomas then explores the similarities between the concepts of total quality management and managing diversity, which are the empowerment and involvement of employees, way of life changes, and the requirement of long-term, pioneering change. He outlines the three components for bringing about root change: affirmative action , valuing differences and managing diversity. *Beyond Race and Gender* then features a brief discussion of measurement, namely that an organization should ask if it is tapping the full potential of all employees, and if its systems are supportive of a diverse workforce. Managers need to question whether women and minorities are advancing naturally and if they are being made to assimilate. Managers must also ask if they are being empowering and if the cultural roots of the organization have been modified. In conclusion, Thomas acknowledges that all companies engaging in diversity efforts need more levels and processes of measurement and evaluation.

Managing a Diverse Workforce (Fernandez, 1991) outlines some of the same corporate issues that Thomas does, though Fernandez spends far more time talking about specific sub-populations and their roles and reactions in both work and society. Fernandez opens with statistics about the diverse makeup of the US. population. He also explains how bureaucracy works in American corporations, and how it often leaves out an allowance for diversity. Fernandez then moves into an analysis of racism, sexism and ethnocentrism, stating that the extent to which adults operate from these biases depends on their sense of self and the neuroses

they have. This segment leads into a focused discussion of social conditions and bias in two particular regions of the world, Japan and Europe, and of the perspectives of several diverse segments of the American population: women, Native Americans, Asian Americans, Black Americans and Hispanic Americans. This book is helpful in that it gives a history and overview of the personal and political issues that each sub-population contends with. While this information may be construed as over-generalization, it is saved from this by Fernandez's offering the diversity of views within each group, as well as stating that these are just some commonalities. In the last three chapters, Fernandez offers advice for workers, organizations and the American population in its position as an economic and political power. He concludes with a case study of one manager's efforts to create and manage a diverse work group. The underlying theme of *Managing a Diverse Workforce* is that the United States, while fraught with cultural tensions, is in a unique global position to economically capitalize on the diversity of its population.

Jamieson and O'Mara, authors of *Managing Workforce 2000* (1991), offer the most comprehensive assessment of diversity training of the three books reviewed here. This book is particularly strong on citing statistical figures on how the workforce of America is changing. Some of the changes they outline include: 85% of the entering workforce in the year 2000 will be women and minorities. Workers in blue collar jobs will have less education; people in white collar jobs will have more. The nature of work will have changed even more than at present to knowledge-based labor over industrial and mechanical production. There will be far more people with disabilities, women, minorities and senior citizens in the workforce. American corporations will need to compete for entry level workers, and attract ones from previously under-utilized groups, such as older and temporary workers. All corporations will need to offer new incentives to retain and motivate the workers they already have.

The authors also outline how the policies of American corporations leave them unprepared for managing these changes. To address this, Jamieson and O'Mara offer a six step process entitled "Flex-Management" which relies on self-management, and advocates the

creation of more individualized policies, systems and management practices. The authors assert that successful use of this model can motivate, challenge, and reward employees, improve their performance, and increase their job satisfaction.

Managers who are committed to helping others have an equal place in the organization should develop the following Flex-Management competencies:

A. Understanding barriers to change

B. Planning Organizational Change

C. Managing Change by :

1. Assessing the Organization's diversity; who is it?
2. Understanding Organization's Needs and Values
3. Describing the Desired Future State
4. Analyzing the Present: Policies, Systems, Practices
5. Planning and managing transitions: Policies, Systems, Practices
6. Evaluating results: turnover, morale, retention, salary

Each of these steps involves a longer process of identifying objectives and breaking down into subsections the smaller steps that are required to enact change. For example, Step One involves assessing who is in the workforce now and who the company expects to be in their company in the future. Managers should be collecting statistical information on changing demographics as well as beginning to implement strategies for working with new groups. Step Two involves using various methods to analyze these populations, including surveys, interviews, task forces, and advisory and discussion groups. Step Three involves formulating strategies for meeting these needs and values, such as ways for managing people and jobs, managing and rewarding performance, informing and involving people and supporting lifestyle and life needs. Companies only gain, the authors argue, by trying to integrate the personal into the organizational, by giving "special treatment" and showing care for their employees' needs.

The final three stages of Flex-Management involve analyzing the present, managing change and gauging outcomes. By assessing the organization's structures, management can

decide if their desires for the future are truly achievable given their current policies and procedures. If they are not, they are able to change them. Flex-Management acknowledges that jobs in the next century will likely be re-designed and more structured to worker's needs. Jamieson and O'Mara also stress, as do Thomas and Fernandez, that companies should develop more comprehensive ways to gauge the outcomes of their efforts.

Related Research on Diversity in Higher Education: Books

The vast majority of resources on teaching diversity and multiculturalism in higher education center around the issue of teacher education. While this seems exclusionary, the argument would appear from related literature to be that one of the best ways to address diversity in elementary, secondary and post-secondary education is through preparing new teachers to work with diverse populations.

Very few books specifically address multicultural teaching at the college level. This might be because it is still a contested issue for faculty and administrators. Under the rubric of academic freedom, instructors are generally able to teach from a perspective of their choosing, without dictates from university administration. Diversity training on campuses is even more recent a phenomenon than multicultural teaching, and I was unable to obtain any book particularly about university diversity training programs for faculty, staff and students. The four books reviewed here, with the exception of one, are edited works that offer multiple essays concerning the larger debate over managing cultural pluralism at American universities.

Multicultural Teaching at the University (Schoem, et. al., 1993) is an edited collection of twenty-three essays concerning diverse teaching methods and strategies for college instructors. Nearly all of the authors draw upon their experiences as faculty or doctoral students at the University of Michigan. The authors acknowledge that teaching that is sensitive to cultural difference should not be done in isolation, but with the objective of transforming both pedagogy and the makeup of student and faculty populations. They also explore the roots of resistance to such methods by addressing the criticism many scholars make for why the curricular canon should not be made multicultural. The specific objectives the authors have set focus around re-

designing existing curricula, engaging in learning outside the classroom, and teacher education. The last section of the book offers classroom and workshop exercises, as well as an extensive bibliography of literature exploring cultural identities. As each article is written by a different author, it is difficult to assert the main thesis of this work. If one must, however, it would likely be that such culture change in universities is not only desirable, but indeed possible.

Like *Multicultural Teaching in the University, Beyond PC: Towards a Politics of Understanding* (Aufderheide, 1992) is a collection of writings concerning multiculturalism and college campuses. Teaching is not addressed in particular, but rather within a larger context of political correctness, campus climates, and particular cases at universities like Harvard, Duke, Stanford and others. The first two segments of the book are divided between those authors who attack political correctness and those who defend it. Scholars like D'Souza and Adler argue that great books are being tossed aside and professors are becoming victims of multiculturalism, in that they are being accused of racism and sexism and their right to free speech is being routinely violated. Liberal scholars like Gitlin, Duster and Williams stress that universities must turn student diversity into an asset for learning, helping students to develop social and cognitive skills that they will use throughout their lives in a diverse society. There are still other essays that do not take sides in the debate. This book is strong in its overall exploration of curricular and social issues on university campuses, and on articulating the societal tensions created over exploring cultural diversity in higher education.

Beyond a Dream Deferred, edited by Thompson and Tyagi (1993), is a collection of thirteen essays on diversity and American universities. Several authors offer a critique of conservative scholars like Bloom, author of *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987). Some essays are a case study of a specific university, such as the University of Massachusetts, City University of New York or University of California at Berkeley. Other essays focus on particular programs, such as a curricular diversity requirement for undergraduate students, the development of courses in black, ethnic and women's studies, or universities that have engaged in faculty development. The overall focus of this collection is on outlining the historical

trajectory of multiculturalism in the university and giving an overview of the institutional changes that have occurred and those that have failed to take place. While this book has a specific focus on the university as a site of this contention, the authors also draw heavily on the political and social debate over diversity in America. To note, the authors of *Beyond a Dream Deferred* state that this is the first book to assess the “history, conflicts, priorities, successes and challenges” of multicultural education. Their vision, offered through a feminist, race and class-conscious analysis is not simply to discuss representation or curricular change, but to engage in the larger mission of rethinking American society (Thompson & Tyagi, 1993, p. 212).

The Classroom in Conflict: Teaching Controversial Subjects in a Diverse Society is the only unedited book located on multicultural teaching in higher education. It is written by a history professor, John Williams (1994), who has addressed diversity issues in his classroom for several decades. The source of his conclusions in this book stem by and large from his classroom experience. Williams, like Aufderheide in *Beyond PC* (1992), first outlines the debate over political correctness. He agrees with some scholars who call for university rules against hate speech, bias and discrimination on campus. He also addresses the issue of the destruction of the canon by discussing considerations for teaching both African and American history. Williams also offers suggestions for setting up classroom rules, and for gauging how learning is accomplished in a pluralist classroom. *The Classroom in Conflict* is helpful for this study as it provides a more in-depth assessment of the teaching process than the three edited books.

The work in this area continues to grow, as will the likelihood that future researchers will attempt to determine greater methods and the larger outcomes of corporate diversity training and university diversity implementations.

Conclusion:

Diversity is arguably an organizational concern for both the corporation and the university. Though the two environments are ostensibly philosophically different, they do share a central objective. They must address cultural awareness to help create attitudinal change in how people treat and talk about each other within their work communities. Within this aim, one must

question the considerations for developing content to teach cultural awareness and the true outcomes one desires or anticipates. In the sources reviewed, trainers outline specific requirements for writing content and ensuring outcomes: cultural audits, management support, and sustained efforts. Educators call for faculty and staff development, diverse curriculum and new teaching methods. In addition, broad definitions of diversity and a potential increase in diverse populations continue to drive these efforts.

The implication in these sources is that the lack of substantive data about the outcomes of diversity implementations may be a potential threat for the future of diversity initiatives overall. However, many authors indicate that if one discernible outcome is increased harmony within the institution, then that is likely sufficient to justify the time, money and energy expended.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

There has yet to be any empirical research or theoretical analysis comparing corporate diversity training and teaching diversity in higher education that could be located by this author. In addition, I was not able to uncover an empirical research base on the outcomes or effectiveness of teaching diversity issues in either the corporate or university environment.

This study focused on one specific corporate and one higher education institution, with an intention to determine answers to the following questions:

- What are the intentions and objectives for affective and organizational change of this institution in designing diversity implementations?
- What are the outcomes of these implementations and how have these implementations met or failed to meet these objectives?
- What implications for diversity implementations can be determined by examining these two separate environments?

Scope

In the corporate setting, the focus of this study was on interviewing employees from various levels within the institution on their assessment of the diversity training program and its outcomes.

In the university setting, this study addressed the perspectives of members of the Diversity Council and several other faculty, staff and administrators on their assessment of diversity training and multicultural programs.

Data Collection Strategies

This study was conducted using qualitative case study methodology (Merriam, 1988). It examined two bounded sites: one corporation and one university.

The primary method of data collection was in-depth interviews conducted with the study participants. These interviews were semi-structured. The initial interview protocol for both the corporate and higher education environment is attached (Appendix A). However, additional questions emerged through individual interviews and throughout the course of the study.

Minor data was obtained through the following records: training manuals, the organization's statements of policies and procedures, news releases, strategic plans and several Diversity Council documents. These materials were used as supplemental means of substantiating data derived from the interviews, not as primary forms of data. Such documents might, however, provide a site for future analysis.

Subjects

The two sites for this study were chosen for two primary reasons: I was mildly familiar with the each institution and knew that they each had diversity education programs and I had convenient access to both sites as I live in the general geographic area.

The corporate sample for this study was a random sample drawn by a computer. The university sample for this study was purposive, as is suggested by qualitative research methodology (Merriam, 1988). The subjects who were chosen had the requisite involvement with the diversity initiatives at their institution. In this way, I may better ensure that the respondents will be able to provide descriptive responses to the study questions.

At the corporate site, I interviewed 29 individuals-non-titled employees, titled employees and officers-who went through the diversity training initiative. The names of these individuals were derived through a random sampling of the corporate employees of Agribank, who number

approximately 8,000 people. While random sampling is not a typical procedure in qualitative research of this design, it made the most sense for this research at this institution. First, this is a large institution where every employee went through mandatory diversity training in the past three years. There was nothing to distinguish amongst them for an outside researcher. Furthermore, I had no means to approach Agribank employees on my own. It would not be legitimate to have management identify respondents for my study, as they might be biased or the employees chosen might feel uncomfortable being asked by their manager to participate in a study. They would also need the assurance of the results of this study being anonymous. In addition, interview method requires explicit consent from the respondents. By a manager making the name identification of study respondents, consent may likely be coerced.

The best way to address these factors was for Agribank to provide me with a random, computer-generated list of names and contact numbers of employees. The computer drew 60 names of employees at three levels within the institution (20 non-titled, 20 titled employees and 20 officers). I then wrote letters of introduction to all 60 people. Out of the 60 individuals I contacted, some had left the company or were unable to be reached. Out of the 52 respondents I was able to speak with, one individual declined to be interviewed and several asked to be called back at a later date. Ultimately, in the time I had allotted for this site-based research, I was able to arrange interviews with 29 respondents, at which number I decided to cap my sample.

At the university, I interviewed 31 people, most of whom were serving or had served on the Diversity Council. I also spoke with individuals involved in several cultural and ethnic studies programs and who worked in administrative offices that addressed the concerns of minority faculty and students. I was also referred to several respondents by members of my original purposive sample. These were faculty and administrators who had experience and interest in diversity-related issues at this site. This form of snowball sampling technique is widely accepted in qualitative research design (Bertaux, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; and Seidman, 1991). It allows the researcher to not only increase access to a site, but also expand the scope of research as issues arise. Two well-known studies in the social sciences that have

employed this technique are *Tally's Corner* (Leibow, 1967) and *Tearoom Trade* (Humphreys, 1975). More recent while lesser-known studies include *The Time Bind: When work becomes home and home becomes work* (Hochschild, 1997), "Leaving Protestant Fundamentalism: A Qualitative Analysis of a Major Life Transition" (Brent, 1994) and "Gender and Politics: Why Women Exit the Superintendency" (Tallerico et al., 1993). This method of acquiring respondents through snowball sampling is often employed when the subject of research is considered "sensitive" or highly personal, as is the case with the previously cited studies and with this study exploring people's attitudes towards diversity education programs.

The determination for when to cap the samples was driven by sufficiency and saturation. I felt the respondents at both sites represented a wide range of constituencies. If I felt one area of the institution's constituencies to not have been discursively represented, I would add a respondent to address this lack. Furthermore, over the course of the interviews I began to hear similar information from numerous respondents. This indicated that there was a saturation of information (Douglas, 1976; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985), which assures, as closely as possible, sufficiency in the sample.

Prior to beginning the data collection, I received approval with minimal risk from the Drake University Human Subjects Research Committee. They approved both my protocols and my Informed Consent releases.

In the following chapters, confidentiality of individual research participants is maintained through the use of a pseudonym and a fictitious job description. To further protect the anonymity of respondents, I have occasionally taken liberty to change a respondent's race, ethnicity or sexual orientation. Because of the small amount of cultural minorities at each site, I was careful to conceal cultural and professional factors that might make the respondent identifiable in any way. In several instances, this alteration of research identity also entailed changing the respondent's country of origin. To the best of my ability, I have tried to maintain the integrity and authenticity of a respondent's statements and to not alter the meaning of what he or she said. This method of "altering identity" is an accepted procedure in interview analysis, as the

protection of respondents must be of high concern to a responsible researcher. "The guidelines the researcher must use in judging the appropriateness of such changes is whether the likelihood of a participant's being identified is high, whether he or she could be made vulnerable if identified, and whether the disguise can be effected in a way that does not distort the data (Seidman, 1991, p. 52). All three criteria were met in the case of this research.

More detailed description of selected participants is offered in Chapters Four and Five. Appendices B and C contain lists of pseudonyms and fictitious job descriptions of respondents at both sites.

Data Analysis Strategies

The ensuing themes and results of this study were determined through qualitative analysis techniques. Overall, I employed a grounded theory approach. Grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) asserts that meaning-making and theory building should come out of the data (interviews, observations, etc.) rather than from the research base on the subject. This privileges the naturalistic axiom over the positivistic. The grounded theory approach is appropriate for this study as it illuminated a broader perspective of the intentions and outcomes of diversity implementations that is grounded in the narratives of the participants.

The two specific strategies of grounded theory that I employed are outlined hereafter.

Content Analysis:

By reading and coding the interviews, I attempted to establish the units of information contained within the data. These units were then made into themes developed around the problems participants identify in the presentation of diversity training/teaching material and their assessment of the methods that were employed at that site.

Constant Comparative Analysis:

To develop theory from the data, I also employed the process of constant comparative analysis. After conducting and transcribing an interview, I read through it several times and

coded the data into multiple categories of analysis. I then continued to review each additional interview, coded it and then placed the data into the categories I had developed. As I analyzed the data, I wrote down my observations, hypotheses and questions from the data. I continually checked the interview data to see if new themes or categories would emerge. Once I had conducted, analyzed and coded all the interviews, I developed categories of analysis which I used to posit theory.

This method is designed to assist the analyst in generating theory that not only emerges directly from the data but also is integrated, consistent and plausible. By engaging in joint coding and analysis, theory was developed systematically and theoretical notions were able to be redesigned and re-integrated as the data was obtained and reviewed (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Trustworthiness and Validity

One of the concerns with this method is proving that the data is valid and the findings are trustworthy. In qualitative research of this design, this is often accomplished through the process of triangulation. There are four different tools for employing this technique: sources, methods, investigators and themes (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this study, I did not work with multiple researchers. In addition, as the primary source of data was interviews, I did not want to pledge to enhance validity by checking all available documents or providing set amounts of time to corroborate ensuing theories through the method of observation. I could not completely triangulate by observation as I asked people about past experiences with the training and teaching of diversity, not about the programs that are currently being conducted. Thus, I was not able to observe the exact process being discussed. Attitudinal change was measured through direct procedures using self-report, whereby measurement is conducted through the direct reports of respondents in interviews (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981).

Therefore, in answer to the problems outlined above, I enhanced trustworthiness and validity by first piloting this study (Seidman, 1991). I "tried out" both the interview protocols

and the interview method for this study several months prior to collecting the data that is explored in this dissertation. I also enhanced validity by sharing preliminary data with participants throughout the data collection phase. In addition, I engaged in member checking, that is I had one person from each site who was part of the study read and review my resultant data and coding procedures. In addition to member checking, I enhanced validity by engaging in the process of constant comparative analysis, outlined above, whereby "categories and their attributes are continuously tested for validity by analyzing them against comparable as well as contrasting solutions, and by modifying them to take changing conditions into account" (Mezirow, Darkenwald & Knox, 1975, p. vii). Lastly, I provided my doctoral committee with periodic reports on the progress of this study and they had the opportunity to comment on or redirect the enquiry at that time.

What ultimately provides substantiation for this research design is that it is the best way to answer the research questions. The adequacy of any research method depends on the purpose of the research and the questions being asked. At the root of the interview method is an interest in learning and understanding the experiences of people and the meaning it generates (Seidman, 1991, p. 9). I wanted to know from respondents what reality they perceive at their organization. What are their experiences in trying to implement or being the audience of diversity initiatives at this institution? How do they understand the role of the leadership and the constituents in this process? What barriers and benefits did an individual respondent identify and what marked the diversity and commonality of the respondents' comments? Interview method allowed me to receive answers to these and other questions.

Thus, not only would I argue that this method is appropriate in design, I also posit that the rigor of the analysis provides a further substantiation of its validity. While I outlined the methods of analysis previously, I would like to conclude this chapter with a simple listing of the 18 step process of this research and analysis procedure. This is the step-by-step process I followed from the start to finish of this study:

1. Obtained names and contact information of respondents at two institutions

2. Wrote and sent one page letter request to interview which outlined research design
3. Made contact with respondents to set up interviews
4. Interviewed respondents
5. Transcribed interviews
6. Reviewed transcriptions with audiotape
7. Read and made notes on interviews
8. Read notes and began initial coding
9. Compiled similar data from interviews into general codes
10. Began to write codes into themes
11. Compiled all central theme data
12. Analyzed themes into subsets
13. Wrote themes into text and quotes
14. Constantly compared theme data, made adjustments if necessary
15. Arranged and "cleaned up" quote material
16. Drew final conclusions
17. Compared to themes derived from literature review
18. Wrote final results

Chapter 4:

AGRIBANK CORPORATION

The corporate research for this study was conducted at Agribank, a financial planning institution based in Belle Plaine, the capital of a midwestern state. Agribank is the largest private employer in the city of Belle Plaine, which has a population of approximately 400,000 people. Roughly half of Agribank's total workforce—approximately 17,000 employees, work in the Belle Plaine facilities. Agribank has offices in several other states, and in the past five years has opened facilities in two other countries. Seventy percent of Agribank's employees are women. Employees under the age of 30 represent 71% of Agribank's employees. Nearly half the workforce (47%) have been with the company under three years. The percentage of racial minorities (African-Americans, Hispanics, Asian-Americans and Native Americans) in the Belle Plaine facilities is 5.4%.

Agribank is the largest private employer in the city of Belle Plaine and has a reputation in the state as being a progressive corporation. The company recently began offering benefits to same sex couples, and their diversity initiative has received national attention. When I approached Agribank about conducting research on their diversity training program in the Fall of 1996, they had recently concluded a two year project to put all of their employees through a two to eight hour diversity training session. This training initiative was begun in 1994 and launched in the first quarter of 1995. The training, which was written in-house and reviewed by a national consultant, drew on the works of Roosevelt Thomas, John Fernandez and David Jamieson and Julie O'Mara reviewed in Chapter 2. The curriculum for the Agribank training course was not based on results from a cultural audit, as Agribank did not conduct a diversity audit prior to training.

The facilitators of the training consisted of six trainers from Agribank's department of corporate education as well as 70 volunteer facilitators from within the various business units. According to Ron Morris, the Human Resource Director responsible for the entire diversity program, lay trainers were used because management felt there would be greater "buy-in from the business people if they saw respected colleagues [leading the training]. This would have more impact; it wasn't being crammed down their throats by Human Resources." ¹

I began interviewing respondents in December of 1996 and concluded my interviews at Agribank in March, 1997. During this time period, I spent one day a week at Agribank and while I was mainly there to interview, I did occasionally meet with Ron or Jack to provide informal progress reports. In August, 1997, I reported the results of my research at Agribank to Ron Morris. He asked that I prepare a final report and presentation for the senior management at Agribank within the next year.

¹In September, 1996 I asked permission from Agribank to conduct a qualitative study at their Belle Plaine corporate facility. After submitting a proposal on my research objectives, which was accepted, I met with Ron Morris and Jack Terrence, the director of corporate education, who oversees the training elements of Agribank's diversity program. Agribank's diversity initiative now involves training for new hires, as well electronic bulletin boards and meetings for employees of different cultural groups, lunch and learn sessions on diversity issues and various programs to celebrate cultural awareness months. Morris, Terrance and I determined that I would primarily be measuring the results from Agribank's diversity training, though in the course of my research I would likely examine related elements of the entire diversity initiative.

Morris and Terrence examined my question protocol and agreed to let me conduct a study. In exchange for my sharing results with them, they agreed to provide me an interview room and give me access to a random sample of employee names and phone numbers which was provided by the computer research department. I was given a list of 60 employees, who were equally divided into the three ranks Agribank designates: non-titled employees, titled employees and officers. After writing a letter of introduction and calling each employee (some several times), I developed a sample of 29 respondents: 11 non-titled employees, 10 titled and eight officers.

Perceptions of Agribank's Rationale for Diversity Training

This chapter explores themes related to respondents' reaction to the diversity training, whether they underwent an attitudinal change as a result, and what suggestions they have for creating this change and improving the diversity training overall. Before I move into discussing these factors, I want to explore one of my earliest conclusions about the diversity training program at Agribank. One of the main factors that seems to have affected the outcome of the training was the lack of clarity about the rationale for it. Many respondents were not clear why Agribank had even engaged in diversity training. In fact, several respondents told me that Agribank began the program simply to get a contract with FisherCarb, another large employer in the area. According to some, FisherCarb was focusing on diversity within their institution and unless Agribank started conducting diversity training, FisherCarb would not sign a contract with them. As this contract was lucrative, Agribank complied.

Many of the responses were similar to those of Kevin Monahan, a repair technician:

I think that one of the companies, FisherCarb, required it of us. That was the deal. They said if you want our business, you have to take that diversity class. So I don't think it was necessarily Agribank saying "let's get everybody diverse."

Ann Everett, a systems analyst, also said that she felt Agribank embarked on training just to get the FisherCarb contract. In addition to this, she thought it was also a result of corporate "peer pressure":

I think it was a combination of that foremost and secondly I think it was like a corporate America thing to do. A lot of companies were doing it. I think if you were somewhere and one of the heads of our company had to

talk about diversity training, and we didn't have it, I think that would be an embarrassment for a large company like ours.

Everett, like several other respondents, didn't feel that Agribank had problems with diversity issues prior to training:

I don't think that the company needed this diversity training because as a group it was a real problem for us. But that's just my perception because I don't think they would have tolerated that type of behavior before the class or after.

Kim Elberts, an administrative assistant, and Larry Levine, a sales representative, also expressed confusion over the rationale for the diversity training. Elberts felt that there had to have been problems with diversity, namely lawsuits, in order for Agribank to undertake the time and expense of training:

I guess maybe Agribank must have problems and that's why they wanted to have the diversity training. But like I said, I'd never seen any of it. Agribank seemed like a great place to work, and everybody seemed to get along well and I'm sure that they have a situation that maybe arose or a problem or something. Because I don't think Agribank is going to spend a whole bunch of money on something and take all this time just to be current, unless it was [a problem].. I think that whoever felt it was necessary must have had a legitimate reason behind it.

Larry Levine, like Elberts, was confused about the rationale for training, and shared his conjecture:

My question would be to someone like Agribank basically here is, if in fact -- do they feel that they have these issues? Are these concerns that they have? Have they heard complaints? Are there lawsuits? Is there harassment? Or are they aware of what's going on elsewhere in the world? Are they trying to prevent this? Are they trying to have a better, smoother

work environment? Do they expect the population of the states and cities to change? Maybe it's part of all of that. I don't know.

Once I began hearing these responses in the interviews, I asked Ron Morris what Agribank's rationale for initiating company-wide diversity training. He told me that the diversity training was not initiated to get the Y contract, but that this was a common misconception. When respondents had mentioned the supposed Y contract, I had found this difficult to believe as I knew members of the training department at Y and had been informed that they did not offer diversity training to their employees. In addition to speaking with Ron Morris about the rationale for the training, which he told me was based on the "value of a diverse work force and [how] diversity impacts business", I was also given a trainer's manual for the diversity training program. In the manual, I read several statements about the "business case" for diversity, which is the supposed greater productivity and profits and better trained, more satisfied workers argued by Jamieson and O'Mara in *Managing Workforce 2000* and other texts mentioned in Chapter Two. While this was certainly made clear in the manual, I did not find evidence that it was fully conveyed to the training participants. When I mentioned this finding to Ron Morris, he told me that the business case for diversity should have been made very clear to employees in the training. Over the course of my interviews, I did meet several people who, while they did not say that the business case for diversity was made clear in the training, agreed with this purported rationale. Alex Fredon, an account specialist, was particularly positive about the business rationale for the diversity program:

It seems that they're like every other big company. They want to be as diverse as possible, whether that's to follow the law or whatever. I think they're making a concerted effort to train people in diversity so all of their employees get along. Since we are international, that's a pretty necessary thing. Understand how someone in China, Russia, South America somewhere would perceive something that we say or do. I do appreciate

the fact that Agribank does have diversity classes, because I think it brings people together that wouldn't ordinarily come together.

However, Steve Buxton, a vice president of marketing, did not feel that the business case for diversity was made as clear as it should be:

There's a whole lot of good business reasons for doing it. I think there was a fairly good emphasis on it but probably not as heavily as I'd have pushed it. I know my session was better than most because I got into this with a couple of the trainers, because the trainers had a lot of flexibility about some of the modules they included in the training, and some of them not completely dropped the business case, [but] really short-shrifted it. And so I was doing a good deal of complaining afterwards saying, no, I think we really need the marketing focus in here, and some of the stuff that was in the session I was in, I was as opposed to some of the more trainer-like [activities]. You know, draw pictures. Let's draw a picture of diversity

In Buxton's comments there is a possible indication of why the business case may not have been so clear for participants. As there were approximately 76 different trainers offering the program, and they each had some leeway in curriculum, it's very likely that certain foci would be either stressed, downplayed or even omitted in a particular session. I may have spoken to participants who did not hear much about business case. This certainly is a matter of quality control for Jack Torrence and other training administrators.

Another reason for why business case was not often recalled by the respondents I spoke with may be that they have chosen not to believe what was presented. One participant, Diane Koviak, an accountant, thought that the business case rationale that Agribank did present was not legitimate:

I don't believe Agribank's business case for doing this. I truly feel that when they instituted diversity, it was an exercise in political correctness. I

don't believe it. They said there was this certain case for change, but I don't believe that.

Therefore we see that one of the threats to the effectiveness of the diversity training is that there is some confusion as to why the program was started. If employees don't understand the rationale, they are arguably less likely to understand and accept the message put forth in the training. The employee "buy-in" therefore needs to be achieved initially through the presentation of Agribank's rationale, not just later on in the diversity training. For if employees do not understand why they are asked to attend training, they might discount what message is presented when they do.

Another threat to creating understanding and acceptance of Agribank's diversity message is that there was no follow-up to the training either institutionally or in most respondent's work units. In fact, only three respondents, all upper-level managers, said they heard diversity mentioned in their work units after they had attended training. I asked Ron Morris if there would be any training follow-up and he said there was not, nor would there likely be. Not having this certainly will undermine Agribank's ability to integrate the focus of the training into workers' consciousness. If workers are not responsible for implementing diversity into their performance, as they arguably would be for training on, for example, a new software program, then they are likely to disregard or even forget it. Devon Ayers, a Information Systems manager of 50 employees, said just this in our interview. When referring to the effectiveness of the diversity training program, she said:

You know, there is what we do and then there's the interpretation of it. I think it can help, but it can't be a quick-swallow-castor-oil approach, and that seems be what's happened here since that initial dose with diversity training.

The Dearth of Diversity

Another element that seems to limit the effectiveness of the diversity training is a product more of the wider social environment than the institution itself. As I attempted to gauge the effectiveness of the diversity training program at Agribank, I found that this pursuit was hampered by the lack of diversity in the state and in the city of Belle Plaine. Most respondents seemed to find discussions of diversity almost absurd, as the area where Agribank is located is so limited in racial or even ethnic diversity. While Agribank tries to hire minorities and recruits nationally, the state where it is located has a population that is 97% white. Some participants felt that because of this learning how to respond to diversity issues was less important, and that the training could not be effective because it could not be applied. Other respondents felt that because of the lack of diversity, training was imperative. Several of the managers I spoke with asserted that managing diversity was an integral part of Agribank's expanding their facilities and customer bases internationally.

I want to explore the first set of responses first, as I was struck by these types of comments more than the others. When a respondent would say something to the effect that diversity was useless, I sensed that in a way this was dismissing the whole notion of diversity. In other words, if diversity isn't visually apparent to them, then it is not an issue they should have to deal with. I had sensed a similar defiance of diversity in exploring respondents' understanding of the rationale for diversity training. Not only did many respondents not know the rationale for training, and therefore assumed Agribank had problems with diversity, some respondent's, in the case of Diane Koviak, didn't believe the rationale that was given. Therefore, by this position, it becomes "not their problem." They are denying that difference needs to be contended with. Also, as they don't "see" much diversity amongst their co-workers, they may think that any discussion of diversity is useless. What this position undermines is how many issues that one could call

representative of diversity are unseen (sexual orientation, religious affiliation, education level etc.) . Agribank not only has to help its employees understand the business case for diversity, they must also make it clear that they define diversity in ways that are broader than race.

Louis Schraft, an assistant vice president of Finance, stated that he has always had to work with diversity issues throughout his career, even though he is located in Belle Plaine. He was one of very few respondents who expressed understanding of the broad definitions of diversity: "It's more than just, you know, [racial] differences; it's age; it's gender; it is ethnic; all those sorts of things and just try to be sensitive to it. The white-male-Belle Plaine-[state]-Protestant ethic ain't what everybody is."

Larry Levine's comments were representative of those respondents who felt the diversity training was a waste of time. Not only did the training have limited applications, Levine argued, the lack of diversity is a problem that has caused Agribank to lose business:

Maybe I was biased by the fact that I'm sitting in Belle Plaine in a class and in a city that to me is so undiverse that to me, maybe it was feeling kind of silly to me. Because the real world to me is in Chicago. . . New York, Cleveland, places that I traveled. Belle Plaine to me is just -- and it's funny because that's the attitude of the people around the country about Belle Plaine. That's ironically one of the issues that we need to address. When you manage money, one of the areas that we manage money very effectively is in international. And then we get this complaint, "well, how can you possibly manage money internationally?" We could do as well with people in London or in New York. And their attitude is -- it's like Indianapolis, it's like Columbus, it's like Omaha, it's like Lincoln. It's very center of the country, almost out of touch to how they think about things .

Diane Koviak discussed how lack of diversity has hurt Agribank even with its internal customers:

I went out to California to visit the service center out there and I said diversity [training] will be coming in '96 to your office, and they said "it is surprising to me that home office is going to come out here to Santa Cruz, California and teach us about diversity. We have diversity all around [us]" and they said "we've looked at your pictorial of people in the home office, and you're not very diverse."

Hunter Sprague, a human resources division head, talked about how working in this state essentially keeps him from having to manage diversity issues with his employees:

I've never really had to deal with someone who's come in and has had a cultural difference or some other sort of difference that we've had to accommodate. Probably it's just because being in Central [the state] in Belle Plaine. We just don't have a population base that would attract and provide for a whole lot of culturally diverse people. We do have quite a diverse set of customers that we interact with all over the country. And so there I think it's more important that we have more exposure to diversity sort of issues and concerns, because you're dealing with a whole diverse set of customers.

Fritz Newman, a compensation analyst, also believed that there was "unseen" diversity in Belle Plaine and that training was important in illuminating these differences. Like Levine, though, he believed that cultural diversity needs to be lived and that it cannot be in Belle Plaine. Newman said that both growing up and working on the east coast of the US taught him about diversity first hand. Because Belle Plaine does not have the diversity of this and other regions, he felt the training was not very effective:

Maybe in an environment where you're faced with more diversity questions on a daily basis. It might sink in more and make more of a change. But I think for all the efforts that are somewhat hampered by the fact that we don't have a lot of diversity in the work force we're drawing from. And I think that undercuts the effectiveness of the training a bit.

Kevin Monahan, who has lived in Belle Plaine for five years, also grew up on the east coast. He said in our interview that he grew up learning to get along with people who were different from him. "I come from a different background... you learn to acclimate. So here there's not really any acclimation. It's just whitesville, waspville." When asked whether learning about diversity might make a difference at Agribank, Monahan replied:

I think it's more useless. They're not going to ever interact with people that are [different], like a part of town that is just going to have their views and you're going to have to acclimate to it. Here everyone just kind of has the same view, and they like to know this kind of stuff. I think they think it's helpful. My personal opinion, no. [Not] if you're not going to practice it.

Monahan's comments about how people in the state like to learn about different cultures was supported by Tashika Oanangu, an administrative assistant at Agribank and by Beverly Jackson, who works at Nova State. These women, both minorities, talked about the interest people have shown in their cultures, though both were critical of whether this curiosity belied a true interest and whether it in turn generated any attitudinal change. This "cultural curiosity" is what is often satisfied in lunch and learn sessions or other activities where people in any minority group share information about their subject position. The problem I see in this form of diversity education is that it focuses more on spectatorship than on active social engagement with cultural difference. Again, if it is agreed that diversity is also represented in qualities that are unseen, then diversity training should focus more on creating personal understanding than simply on acquiring

knowledge about those different from you. This understanding would be more about creating a cultural change than simply heightening awareness. It is the understanding of diversity, arguably, that would better prepare Agribank employees to deal with diversity outside of their immediate environment, namely with a diverse set of customers.

Kevin Monahan believed training could assist in Agribank in generating understanding: "[Diversity is] a good idea to get out and in touch with, even though right now it isn't [being used]. There's a chance that in the future there will be more [diversity]-you need to get them out of their little box more, or [from] underneath their rock."

Stu Varson, a maintenance supervisor who like Newman and Monahan did not grow up in the midwest, also commented on how people from the state need to broaden their understanding of diversity. He also felt that Agribank's focusing on awareness alone would be a lofty goal:

It's is a funny little state; it's a little state. So many people I work with are natives, they've never been in very many places at all except maybe the bordering states . A few of them have made a trip to Orlando to Disneyland and that's about it. I find it very funny here that the people here are just so lacking in that [exposure] . They went to school --there really weren't even any foreigners in their schools in [the state]. It was just all the natives. There weren't -- until the last few years -- there weren't a lot of transients coming in here until the [manufacturing] industries and that got real big and they started drawing people in from other states. It's kind of a closed society here, and I think a lot of the people that work here -- at least in the area I'm in now -- most of them are just natives, they're workers. They've had very little exposure to different cultures, so in our area alone, just awareness would be a help.

This need for awareness of what may be called "proximate" and "distant" diversity emerged in several interviews where respondents commented about the negative

reactions to diversity evidenced in some of their co-workers. Jason Simons, a computer programmer, said he has heard people at work refer to the Vietnamese who have settled in the city as "boat people." "In [the state]," Simons says, "I found people more respectful than [where I was before] but very ignorant in a lot of respects." Ben Adkins, a portfolio manager, told me about a Bosnian man from his work area who was given the name "Larry" by his co-workers when they didn't want to learn to pronounce his real name. Like Adkins, Devon Ayers also has had the experience of her subordinates wanting to call a foreign-born co-worker by an "Americanized" name. She explained to them that this was not respecting his culture. "I think we need to alleviate that ""assume everybody really wants to be just like you"" [approach]. And there's a preponderance of that here." Ayers was also concerned about how the approach to diversity in Belle Plaine has affected Agribank's ability to grow as a corporation. When asked if diversity training was more imperative or useless because of the employee population base, Ayers replied:

I think for what this organization says it wants to accomplish, which is really stepping up to the plate and being the big player in the industry, they ought to be [concerned with training]. I mean we're the ninth largest financial institution, by gosh, let's quit playing small hometown Midwestern company. As a result of that, I think it is really necessary that we get good at that because we're sending these folks -- I mean we're sending them everywhere. We're sending them not only everywhere in the U. S. but in other countries. And they really need to kind of wake up. It's not good enough just to be nice people. You need to have a better understanding of being comfortable and valuing people who are different and I don't think we have it.

In our interview, Steve Buxton also stressed the need to broaden worker's perspectives at Agribank. Like Ayers and other respondents, he felt the lack of acceptance of diversity by some workers has hurt Agribank's business. When we first

began our interview, Buxton said "I find the thought of diversity in [this state] almost laughable because it's so undiverse." When I asked him how this affects the importance of training, Buxton said:

I think it's important because of things that we tend to miss otherwise. I think it's important particularly from a marketing standpoint. I don't think we've done an especially great job of marketing other than to nice, white middle/upper middle class people in business and business owners. I think they're making strong attempts to get away from that, but we haven't been good in quote ethnic marketing -- it's been real interesting for us to try to go international. It's almost been like pulling teeth to get anyone to go international because the experience base here is so narrow and so limited. You have to beg people to take assignments, bribe them, beg them. I mean [for] some it is just an attitude about the area itself -- of [the state] itself, and it's very state-centric. The other part is that I think the company -- at least as far as ethnic and cultural diversity hasn't been very good about just being able to capitalize on the diversity of the population and hasn't been able to penetrate it very well and haven't made that effort very strong.

Ann Everett said that part of the problem inherent in broadening awareness of diversity at Agribank is that the corporation can't easily create a diverse worker population to enhance this understanding. Because of the homogeneity of the area population, it is difficult to attract and retain minority employees. Regarding Agribank's efforts to diversify the population of the organization, Everett stated:

I think Agribank wants to be more [diversified] but I think that they feel that they're somewhat limited in attracting people to Belle Plaine and to the company, because we are mainly white, middle America. There's not a lot of people to see in Belle Plaine compared to other parts of the

country.. Everyone is white, most of the people are college-educated. It's not very diverse.

The essential result I determined from this arena of questioning is that Agribank needs to focus more on different forms of diversity. While the state is 97% white, and the city does not have large minority populations, there are other forms of diversity that Agribank can stress, as there are countless ways for people to be different from one another. As stated in Chapter Two, the most effective diversity programs focus on the specific diversity within the population they address. While Agribank may not exhibit much racial or ethnic diversity in its employees, it does contend with diversity in gender, age and religion, as the study will address. As Agribank continues to move into international markets, exposure to diversity issues will not only help them attract new business, it will create better adjustment and satisfaction for those home office workers taking international assignments. Lastly, as Levine, Koviak and Sprague pointed out, Agribank does business in other parts of the country, with a diverse set of customers, and it's important for Agribank's success that home office employers be prepared for addressing racial and ethnic diversity, even if they don't live around it.

Common Sense and Self Perception

Thus far I have explored the lack of diversity in the state and city where Agribank is located and the lack of awareness Agribank's employees may have about the diversity that does exist in the community and the organization. Both of these factors have affected how their employees understand and implement the diversity issues brought up in the training. Not only was the diversity training seen by some respondents to be hampered by the lack of diversity in the population, there were other issues that seemed to have kept the respondents from experiencing some attitudinal change as a result of Agribank's diversity initiatives. As can be seen in Appendix A, I employed a line of questioning in

these interviews that centered around initially determining respondents' reactions to the training. In this way, I hoped to arrive at whether or not the training had generated any outcome for them. Not only did I determine that many respondents did not perceive the training as pertinent to the environment, one of the themes that quickly emerged during my interviews at Agribank was that respondents saw the training as simply being "common sense" and therefore redundant to what they already knew. The term "common sense" was stated repeatedly during the first several interviews and as a result I decided to incorporate it as part of my questioning. While I would not automatically ask respondents "Did you think the training was common sense?" I often decided to ask this question when they seemed to be indicating that this was their reaction. I determined this by the way they reacted to being asked to recall the content of the training and what they thought of it. Not only would respondents try, often unsuccessfully, to remember certain items from the training, they would usually place a judgment on it: "It was common sense." or "I knew it anyway" or "The training just said follow the golden rule" are examples of some of these sentiments. In this section, I will explore the larger theme of "common sense", as well as the sub-themes embodied in it which I call "already diverse" and "the golden rule." The reasons why some respondents would term the training content "common sense" was generally because they considered themselves to already have a strong understanding of diversity or they felt that the message in the training was simply to follow the "golden rule", which they already understood and presumably lived by.

The broad theme of the training content being "common sense" was expressed in three ways. First, some respondents said simply that it was common sense as if what they learned did not challenge or interest them in any way. It was a reiteration of what they learned in school or at home. Second, many respondents stated that while the training was common sense to them, it would not be for others and was therefore valuable. Lastly, three respondents felt that Agribank's diversity training was common sense, it was still good to hear as a refresher.

For the first subgroup-those who saw the common sense element as making the training a waste of time- I was particularly careful to explore why they felt that way. Jenna Davis, an accounts supervisor, expressed this sentiment when she recalled her reaction to being required to attend diversity training:

I was real pessimistic about it and just kept thinking, why are we making such a big deal out of this? Let's just ask each other how we want to be treated and just be nice. It's simple. And I know I simplify things too much, but I just remember thinking this isn't worth the two days, eight hours. It was more time on it than I thought needed to be spent. A lot of it was common sense.

Within the group of those respondents who indicated that the training content was common sense and therefore not challenging, three respondents linked their reaction to how they were raised. Ann Everett credited her familial influences to giving her an understanding of diversity. Regarding the training, Everett said:

It kind of made you think of things, but there wasn't anything new that you were learning because I think growing up -- if you're raised in a relatively healthy family or whatever - you go to school, you're exposed to those things. . . it is kind of common sense.

When asked how he defined diversity, Steve Buxton said:

I don't mean to downplay it, but it's just kind of a common sense way to deal with people. If they're individuals, they look at things differently than you do. Try to appreciate and understand where the other person is coming from. I've basically always tried to do that. Just use common sense in dealing with people and try to be sensitive.

Andy Massoli, a computer programmer, also felt that he was raised to be sensitive to diversity issues, but that younger generations did not have the same exposure.

Regarding his reaction to the training, Massoli referred to it as:

Nothing earth-shattering. Like I said, it's nothing that every first grader isn't brought up with. I was looking at my kids sometimes, what they teach in these schools. But some of the things that they don't. At least anybody that was raised in the 50s and the 60s and went through a lot of stuff and were raised with those values. Now, I don't know how some of the kids that were raised in the 70s and 80s.

I asked Massoli to clarify his comment about younger generations, and he replied "They are sheltered" and they "do not have a sense of the real world." He believes they are less tolerant of difference than the baby boomer generation of which he is part, for they were not party to the Civil Rights Movement and do not watch or read news. His opinion, to note, is contrary to a common belief that would be stated by Ray Gorman and Gary Paciorek at Nova State, which is that younger generations are more accepting of cultural difference and social change than their parents and grandparents because they grew up in a freer social climate and are less entrenched in their beliefs.

The second grouping of common sense respondents stated that while they thought the diversity training was common sense, the training program might be good for other people. Larry Levine explained this phenomena: "To me a lot of it was common sense because I'd been there. At some point in my life, it wasn't common sense. It's become natural to me but to the other people maybe it wasn't." Diane Koviak also mentioned the factor of "other people" who are not sensitive to diversity when she talked about how operating with assumptions that are common sense is essentially part of one's job. Koviak relayed a diversity-related incident to illustrate her point:

One time I had a customer call up -- obviously upset but didn't speak English. And I knew a coworker in another department who spoke Spanish. So I called her up, connected the two of them and after a while you get to know there's people around that can help these other people, rather than just go, "whoa, I can't handle this." But I don't know if that's

diversity. I just think that's common sense and good customer service to assist this person. So I just think that's common sense. I don't think there has to be a special strategy. You certainly plan not to offend them. I just think it's common sense, but apparently the parameters are different for people.

Kathy Engler, a payroll administrator, also stated that handling diversity issues were common sense in doing one's job, but that other people may not have this understanding. She told me about her reaction to the training:

It was common sense stuff to me. It may not be for other people.

Depending on how they were raised, [they] may not have thought about some of the issues. But to me most of it seemed common sense. We don't really need to spend -- and I don't even remember how long we spent in there. I think it might even have been an all-day training, which I thought was a lot of training for the issue at hand. But at the same time, it seemed too much to me because it -- like I say, I thought it was common sense, but for others it's probably is a good thing. But how can management pick and choose who gets to go? I think you pretty much do have to send everybody because you can't finger out the people that you think aren't diverse to go to a diversity training class.

Fritz Newman, who had also referred to the training as common sense, expressed his rationale for why an understanding and treatment of diversity issues that is part of his interaction with people different from him was not in operation for many other people. He also critiqued the notion diversity training being common sense for everyone:

I think that coming from the East, working with all these different people, it was sort of like, "yeah, fine." It didn't really teach me anything new or open my eyes in any way, shape or form. It [was] just sort of, "yeah, that's right, yeah, okay, uh-huh, I agree." [But] I'm not sure why people call

things common sense because it's not all that common in some areas, I think if everybody worked it from common sense and it was truly common, we'd probably be a lot better world.

As I had heard this second point made again and again in interviews -- that what is common sense for the speaker is not for others -- I often felt what Newman did: if common sense were so common, why did society still face problems with diversity? I also began to sense an implied value judgment in these respondents' comments. It seemed that they were saying they were "enlightened" but other people were not. Who then are all these other people? One cannot say.

The third group of "common sense" respondents were all positive about the diversity training, despite its being common sense. This was because, as they indicated, it is important to be reminded of diversity issues. This set of respondents seemed more open to the organizational changes that may be brought about through Agribank's diversity initiative. They also seemed less threatened by diversity and more accepting of the adult education concept of lifelong learning. Alex Fredon expressed this attitude when he recounted the training activities:

There were a lot of common sense things but it never hurts to practice these things. So I go in with the thought that, okay. Fine. We're going to do this little exercise, and I do this every day anyway, but I'm going to do it anyway and see what I can learn from it? So I'm sure there was a lot of everyday common sense things going on. But they're not tasks that I would necessarily do every day.

Dave Dreyfus, a senior account executive, also saw the diversity training as a learning experience:

I don't think I'm God's gift to common sense, but I thought a lot of this is common sense. And I guess I've traveled abroad and again I worked at a university which it is different than if you just attend a university because

a lot of people attend a university and still remain [narrow-minded].

Again I'm thinking, well, the old "not me" thing. I mean I was definitely thinking some of the old not me stuff. But then when we got into the some of the other things that diversity covers, I'm thinking, I never even thought of that. You learn something all the time, and I definitely learned something out of it.

Brain O'Riarden stated that not only does one continue to learn, one should in order to be effective on the job and in society:

I think it was in large part common sense, but the part that goes beyond just the common sense is the reinforcing the fact that you have to be fairly vigilant to keep from letting those types of patterns become ingrained and just thinking about the number of different ways that the increasing diversity of the workplace, the overall population, and everything else is going -- it's going to continue to affect your life. I guess I looked at it as more of a "we're going to give you a few things to think about", provide a dialogue and kind of try to brainstorm a little bit on how all this all affects us. You can't treat someone differently, you can't discount a coworker's ideas because she's a female or because she's black or whatever. That's all pretty much common sense and I think everybody should or does realize that. But it was more of an exercise -- it went beyond just the, "gee, this is common sense."

I'm Already Diverse

One result I pulled from these responses was an understanding of how people see themselves in regards to their understanding of diversity. As previously stated, there seemed to be two central reasons why respondents saw the training as common sense.

Nearly every respondent, some of whom didn't even indicate that the training was common sense, expressed that they were already understanding and accepting of diversity issues. The term that most people used for themselves, which is not grammatically accurate, was "already diverse."

There were numerous reasons why they described themselves in this way. The majority of the respondents I interviewed had gone to college and they saw this as a broadening experience. Some said it was because they had lived in different places or they had traveled. Several referred to this exposure coming from the way they were raised. I found it interesting that there seemed to be almost a compulsion for people to define themselves this way, even though the three minorities who were part of my sample did not refer to themselves as "already diverse", even though they were arguably more so than the other respondents.

The first group of respondents who referred to themselves as already understanding diversity credited this to the exposure to difference they had experienced in their lives, through where they had lived, traveled or worked. Larry Levine, who as previously stated grew up on the East coast of the US, was adamant not only about his own understanding of diversity issues but also about how one must learn this acceptance through being exposed to different work experiences:

When I first joined Agribank, I had worked 17 years for Century, some of which were in Manhattan and Cleveland. I spent five years with Amerco. I was around a broadly diverse group of people, and I was also exposed to the different types of programs that [companies] make available. The way you do anything is on-the-job training in real life situations, and because I've worked in New York and Cleveland and Chicago, and now here, I've seen it all from one end of the spectrum to the other.

Cindy Perte, a paralegal, was very vocal, like Levine, about her own acceptance of diversity and how it had developed through living in a larger urban area. Regarding the training, she said:

Maybe I didn't get a whole lot out of it. Well, I grew up in Chicago and although the suburb itself was pretty much all White, I was in the city all the time. And I think seeing foreign people or knowing that there's diversity issues -- I mean, to me diversity was kind of like "Oh, well, yeah, duh."

Jason Simons referred to growing up in a town that was 40% African American. Regarding the training, he'd said "I didn't really pay attention to that because I always grew up around it, the exposure [to] differences." Stu Varson, who is in his 60s, credited his exposure to diverse cultures as the source of his understanding: "Maybe it's because my parents were from different countries. I've always been traveling to Europe; there's always been people from different nationalities [around me] , and I'm just used to this."

The second group of participants who saw themselves as "already diverse" credited their education as the source of this perspective. Brian O'Riarden, a building engineer, cited not only his formal education but also the process of education created through growing older:

I've always tried to be cognizant of those issues anyway. And I'm not going to sit here and tell you that I'm the most open-minded [person], never made an off-colored joke, never made a statement I regretted later, or anything like that, but as you get older and you go through school, the schooling I've been through and been in the situations I've been in and the education part of it that I talked about before, you hopefully get over a lot of that. And I've always tried to be as open-minded as I can.

When I asked Eric Linstrom, an investment analyst, his perspective on the diversity training, he stated that for him it was:

A kind of a confirmation of things that I felt I knew already. Whether that was from the [former employer's] training or just the way I was raised. I've had a lot of the different experiences with diversity. I went to college. I was supposed to be rooming with a guy from high school, another white Caucasian. He backed out of school two weeks before we went, so I was left with [not] knowing who was going to be my roommate. Walked in, I had a black roommate, a black male roommate.

Linstrom then described how living with this man helped him to understand the perspective of minorities. So, for him, getting a college education provided a chance to learn about diversity both in and outside the classroom. Ben Adkins referred to the particular benefits of a liberal arts education in broadening his understanding:

The reason that I might approach it a little bit more globally is I think I have been at least indirectly exposed to what I'll loosely describe as environmental diversity training, especially since going to college. I went to a very liberal environment and they were very open to a very broad spectrum, and I went there -it would have been early '70s, and the feminist movement was fairly strong at that time and certainly one of the things that I became quickly aware of was the gender issue in terms of women didn't want to be treated too differently at least in some areas, but they still wanted to maintain their differences. But just the nomenclature, for example, a "girl" was not a word that anybody used on the campus. I don't think for any age.

Dave Dreyfus, a senior account executive, credited his open-mindedness to his experiences at Nova State, which would ironically emerge as a very non-diverse environment when I conducted my research there:

I consider myself -- I don't have blinders, I don't have filters, but I've been fortunate to work in environments that have a diverse background and

stuff. And so it just seems natural to me. I worked at Nova State after I graduated there and obviously most universities are very diverse by nature. And it seemed normal to me.

To note, when I began my research at Nova State, one of the comments I heard in my first interview was that "education doesn't mean lack of prejudice." Yet several respondents at Agribank seemed to think it at least implied this, as their education was how they substantiated their acceptance of and exposure to diversity.

The final subset of respondents who considered themselves to be accepting and aware of diversity issues before training were those who regarded this perspective as coming from how they were raised. Alex Fredon said this when he defined diversity:

Getting along with everybody regardless of race, creed, sex, whatever. It's just something that I was brought up to believe. Diversity to me means to understand other people's positions and interact with [them] . I guess I'm fairly diverse.

Diane Koviak credited not only her upbringing for broadening her perspective, but also her religious orientation:

I have been exposed to people whose lives [were different]. Even if you've just grew up in different parts of the Midwest or something. I don't know if that has anything to do with it, but I was raised in a faithful family, and there was just a certain amount of respect that you paid to anyone

Kathy Engler also referred to the values taught to her by her parents and how she is passing them on to her children: "Making sure that they're raised the same way I was to accept everyone. I'm probably much more accepting [than] what I notice other people make comments about or think differently about. I'm pretty open-minded."

Brianna Kimbrel, director of marketing communications, referred to her childhood experiences as teaching her about the need for tolerance:

I think in most respects I'm pretty diverse. I don't say bad things about men because they're men. I'm pretty tolerant, even though I'm divorced. I just like people. And growing up I was picked on a lot and made fun of a lot. I think that helped to make me a little bit more tolerant of other people and what they might feel inside and how they might feel or something when you make fun of them.

Andy Massoli talked at length about his family structure in our interview. He also stated that he believes most people already understand diversity and live by the tenets of cultural understanding. He said of the diversity training program "it didn't teach me anything new that I didn't know already. It was just a reaffirmation of what I did know, just bringing it out in the forefront."

The Hegemony of the Golden Rule

In the previous quotes, I explored how many respondents articulated themselves as being "already diverse" or accepting of cultural diversity concerns. This, again, is a part of why these respondents perceived the training to be common sense. The second central reason I determined for the "common sense" perception is that a number of respondents identified the training message as being like "the golden rule" or the "do unto others as you would like done unto you" credo many of them learned as children. What is interesting, however, is that the "golden rule" was not the directive for behavior Agribank was trying to put across in the training. In fact, part of the curriculum focused on the difference between the "golden rule" and the "platinum rule", which is to treat others as *they* would like to be treated. Agribank's training on the platinum rule stressed the need to respect individual differences; not everyone wants to be treated the same way and employees should not presume. However, because this was not understood by respondents (except one), the "golden rule" then has a hegemonic quality in that it is

accepted as an ideological framework for behavior that is in effect the opposite of what Agribank is intending to advocate.

Clearly the distinction between the two rules for behavior was not presented well, as only one person even remembered it, Fritz Newman. He was dismissive about the platinum rule's introduction as a good guide for employee behavior:

They [the trainers] blew some credibility in the first few minutes. This so-called platinum rule, the golden rule is out, do unto others as you would have them do unto you? They threw it out, and they said, that's not a good enough standard anymore. The platinum rule is "treat others as they want to be treated", which is kind of like, okay, am I clairvoyant? How do I know this? But the unfortunate thing is here they were teaching about this diversity and how to handle and how to play the strengths and commonalties and yet, that so-called golden rule, it's in the Christian scriptures; the Jewish scriptures; the Koran, I believe, it's also in the Buddhist literature. It's something that a lot of cultures and religions and all do have in common, [so it] would be a great starting point.

Diane Koviak, as previously stated, thought that the training was common sense because she was raised with a religious orientation that taught respect for difference. According to her, the message in the training was a re-stating of the golden rule her religion stressed:

The golden rule, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."
And so approaching people that are different than me is you don't treat them special because they're black, you treat them with respect just like you'd be treated.

Andy Massoli also said his parents stressed the "golden rule":

I wouldn't have reacted any different, just because of my own upbringing. Middle class American, just treat everybody like you wanted to be treated

yourself. Treat your elders with respect, treat your peers with respect, and treat people who work for you with respect for what they know and for what they're doing, not who they are.

Jenna Davis, a manager in the data processing division pointed out the connection between common sense and the golden rule, and how this affected some employees' reaction to Agribank's diversity training:

A few of us just kept saying, "Why don't we have a class on the golden rule?" Because that's really what they want -- you treat everybody else the way you want to be treated -- and then we're all just being nice to each other instead of, "Oh, you're from Indonesia, so..." and over analyzing who people are. Just treat them like you want to be treated is where I think the focus should be.

Kim Elberts also thought the training was about issues of common courtesy embodied in the "golden rule" concept:

Just treat others like you would like to be treated, and that's the way I've always tried to be. If people could just follow the golden rule, then this wouldn't be necessary at all. But society is not like that. So I could understand why they were putting it on. I guess I just didn't feel like I needed to be there.

In analyzing the responses about the role of the golden rule in providing a directive for behavior, I was struck by much the same feeling I had when respondents would say diversity training was good for other people, but not themselves. Here too there was a judgment made about other people, though in this instance it was that other people were the same as them, and not different (or in the case of "common sense", not yet "enlightened"). The hegemony of the golden rule then is that respondents are

essentially denying difference when they believe that everyone wants to be treated the way they do. Diversity, again, is about so many different factors and its definition depends on the environment being examined. Possibly the insistence on the "golden rule" expressed by many of the respondents at Agribank stems from "dearth of diversity" factor of the environment discussed earlier in this chapter. There is just not a lot of "visible" diversity in the state, city or at Agribank itself. Therefore, it could be argued that it is difficult for the majority of Agribank's employees to understand why and how someone could want to be treated differently than they do. Possibly too, they are threatened by discussions of difference. While no one explicitly said "I am threatened by this organization's emphasis on diversity", I think that this may be what many of them felt. The three members of minority groups who I spoke with (Tashika Oanangu, Mary Mercer and La Huong) all believed Agribank's diversity initiative was a positive step for the organization for they believed it helped people to better understand them as "diverse" individuals. Yet, the majority of respondents at Agribank felt that not only was the diversity thrust "common sense" because they were "already diverse" and because it was a reiteration of the "golden rule", an organizational emphasis on diversity was often at odds with "getting the job done."

Just do Your Job

This next theme seemed to emerge out of some frustration several respondents felt with diversity overall, and as a sentiment it was expressed in a number of ways. Some felt that all that mattered at Agribank was how one handled job responsibilities, and that any "diverse" categories a worker might be in were irrelevant to how they performed. Other people indicated this frustration simply as not wanting to accommodate diversity in how they do *their* job. Three respondents said people ignore diversity issues at Agribank specifically because they are focused on getting their work done, and these respondents

seemed to imply that this was a positive quality, denoting commitment. Still others felt that while the job may be the primary concern of the company, creating an understanding amongst a diverse set of workers was essential to performance and productivity.

The first position-performance being valued over diverse identity-was the most common. Andy Massoli's comments were perhaps the clearest example of this viewpoint:

You do the work , you're fine, whether you're male, female, black, white, whatever. It doesn't matter as long as you do the work, that's all that counts. If a person does his job well, everything else fits in, whether they're male, female, black, white, green, purple, whatever. Job is number one; the performance is number one.

Hunter Sprague also argued that performance based merit was far more important more than cultural identity in how he evaluates and manages his employees: "I recognize those who are performing. And it doesn't matter what gender or race they are. It's purely based on their ability and competence, and it seems to work." Jenna Davis felt that personal politics and distinctions need to be disregarded on the job:

This [lesbian], when she started the team, at first I thought, "Okay. Are people not going to talk to her or whatever?," and then I just told people, I said, "If you have a problem with her, then I'll have to deal with you. I mean if she's doing her job then, and you're just having a problem with her personally, then you're the one creating the problem" . . . it's not real hard for me as long as everybody just does their work.

Tashika Oanangu, who is Nigerian, and who said that diversity programs at Agribank were positive for minorities, also stated that at Agribank performance is valued over identity. She attributed this reality to generational differences:

The group of people I work with now, they are young. And I kind of see that they really don't care about who you are, where you [are] from. I think they care more of how you get your job done, and I think that's what

I would like people to see because that's why you come here for. You come here to work, you're not coming here to play politic.

Four of the respondents stated that while the training was not a waste of time, the job was also the primary concern for the majority of Agribank's employees. Jason Simons said that he often ignores information distributed regarding diversity as "there's so many other responsibilities we have. My meeting this afternoon, we're not going to have to talk about this." When asked about people's reactions to the training, Brian O'Riarden said "I think there were some people that were more concerned about the time out of their day, to go over there and do that because it is a big chunk of time." Ben Adkins was particularly cynical about the time investment in any form of training:

They've been in these classes before, they know that they're going to go into the class group a few half days, and they're going to come out of it, and they're not going to learn anything they didn't already know before they went in to begin with that day, and now they're eight hours behind on their work.

In contrast, there were several respondents who were supportive of diversity efforts and did see how they enhanced, rather than undermined, the productivity of Agribank's workforce. Eric Linstrom, like the previous respondents, was concerned with getting the job done. Yet, as a manager, he believes that in order to be productive and profitable in the long run, Agribank, or any corporation, needs to shelve getting the job done every now and then in favor of development work that would allow them to build a cohesive work force. Referring to his problems in his current job he said:

We got so caught up in the business issues that we were moving so fast that we forgot about the people issues. And we didn't have the support to pull us back and say "slow down." Somebody else coming in from the organization structure and say "Slow down. There's more than just business issues. And you're going to take a step back and get involved

with people issues here, and we're going to sponsor that, so don't worry about it if you don't get the job done today. We're going to pull your people out, we're going to do some things to build it for the future."

Mary Mercer, a transcriber who is disabled, asserted that it is understanding of difference that allows her to get her job done, and actually to have a job at all. In our interview, Mercer was very vocal about what she sees as the benefits of diversity training, which is that people learn to understand each other. In turn, this understanding enables the job to be done better than it otherwise would:

I feel in my department my manager has bent over backwards particularly in my case. Since I am disabled and she knows my situation and knows exactly what my limitations are; therefore, she is very accommodating to the jobs that come in to make sure that I have adequate understanding of what materials and what knowledge I need to further my job.

Linstrom and Mercer's comments support the argument made by proponents of organizational diversity programs, which is that diversity is part of performance, not separate from it nor a threat to it. This viewpoint, and the one I outlined before it -- that diversity is a threat to getting the job done -- seem to represent two sides of a coin. One viewpoint says diversity must be understood in order to facilitate collegiality; the other says that a focus on cultural identity threatens how one evaluates workers equally and objectively. There is also a third perspective offered by several respondents at Agribank, which essentially is a combination of these two opinions. Regarding the convergence of diversity and performance, Fritz Newman, who was supportive of diversity programs overall, said they can compete with company objectives:

We're not really after the diversity so much as the best person for the job. The reason Agribank or any other company exists is to get something done. And that has to be a part of the consideration all the time. If you don't get anything done -- if things don't get done well or there's friction,

then you lose good people or people don't get as much out of the job or put as much into it as they otherwise would. . . The biggest issue that I would put under the heading of diversity is the issue of trying to make diversity something other than adversity. You know, trying to get the various and different and cogs and gears and all to function together so that we, be [it] at work or whatever, can have a team, a unified response, a togetherness, instead of all of these butting-heads or having frictions.

Stu Varson, like Newman, acknowledged that diversity training was important in helping eliminate conflict. As had Newman, Varson also articulated his sense of the barrier to getting the job done that diversity can create:

The two things I think are just so important to any kind of diversity training -- I assume you mean getting people to work together without any conflict. That's what it means to me basically. That's where I come in. The majority of conflicts with different type people and that to me is the important thing about diversity, especially for a big company. I find that number one in promotions or working with people, they have to be qualified. I find that in many instances they push diversity. And people that are put in management positions may have a [more] diverse background from the majority of the people in the department -- [but] they're not qualified, and this causes a lot of conflict. . . . All you should be worrying about is getting the people to work together and getting the job done, not causing conflict.

Newman's and Varson's comments could be construed, again, as the more evenhanded of this theme in that they see benefits to understanding diversity, but they also see it as divisive. They, as well as Linstrom and Mercer, seem to have drawn from the training one of the objectives Agribank had when they engaged in the training program, to help workers understand cultural differences. Yet the other part of Newman

and Varson's comments was that discussions of difference not only take the focus away from getting the job done, they can create a divisive climate. There were several respondents, who saw divisiveness as a central negative effect of the training. Jenna Davis did not want to attend diversity training for this reason:

I wasn't real pleased when this whole diversity thing came up in the company. Because I thought why are we focusing so much on how we're different? Why are we always having special things and breaking everybody up into their own little category? Now we have all these different groups . Maybe if you're from another country, you would need that bonding with other people. But it feels that we're being segmented. When it's talked about a lot, then you're -- I don't know. Five years ago I wouldn't have ever thought of -- who cares what their background is in the workplace. You know, who cares?

Dave Dreyfus also saw the training also promoting cultural classification amongst workers:

To me it's like a little kid. They don't classify people. My two-year-old son, he doesn't see a person as different, it's just another person to him. And, okay, so they look different or they have to act different because of some disability or whatever, big deal. Maybe I'm naive about it, but that's kind of how I act. I think most people key on the race thing and gender perhaps secondarily. It depends on what circle you're in or whatever. Well, I think the training resurfaces it, brings it to [people's] attention again.

Jason Simons referred to the issue of divisiveness when discussing the issue of changing the name of the company "Christmas party" to the "Holiday party". He thought the ensuing discussions between workers in the company newsletter was a waste of valuable time. Simons stated "it just polarizes the group a little bit more, in some respects

it turns out being confused." Diane Koviak mentioned examples of both children and Christmas in her assessment of how diversity can be divisive:

We didn't have programs in school that highlighted or caused special awareness. I grew up in a small town where you sing Christmas carols. We always did that. We weren't doing it to snub any other group of people, we're doing it as a celebration. My kids grow up with lots of people different than them right in their classroom. And they don't say, "well, we've got a lot of different people in our group."

Larry Levine asked me in our interview if I thought just bringing up cultural difference in diversity training made it more apparent. I then asked him "You mean by pointing differences out you make people aware of divisiveness?" He replied: "It's probably like anything else when you get a point out -- You see. I wasn't aware of that, well, maybe it's a problem. Maybe I need to examine it more." Levine then told me he advocated a workplace free of any cultural distinctions:

To me diversity -- true diversity -- would be operating in line without a distinction, wearing blind folds and not knowing whether a person is Chinese or Asian or Eskimo or whatever. That would be true diversity. I do make that distinction when people are failing to get the job done, and that can be any person, and if I was an employer, that's what I would be focusing on. I need to get the job done. I need to avoid all of these other -- this "noise" that has been created.

Andy Massoli believed that not only does diversity training point out differences, it can also make for a hostile climate:

I think there's always people out there that are looking to be rated wrongly so that they can point a finger saying you don't treat me right because I'm "blank". [Training] probably makes them worse because then it gives them some ammunition.

Later in our discussion, in regard to the positive outcomes of training, Massoli stated that there was a need to "concentrate more on the sameness of people rather than the differences."

This idea of stressing "sameness" over difference struck me when I analyzed the interview data. Why was sameness seen as a positive? There seem to be many messages that stress this in our culture, that we "like our own" or that at heart "we're all the same." Many of the respondents' comments about the divisiveness of diversity training seemed to be a denial of difference. They seemed to be saying that they didn't want to hear about it, didn't think it was important, or as Levine said, that discussions of diversity were "noise". This may be because these respondents do not consider themselves to be part of a particular cultural identity, even though arguably we all are. Yet even the few members of minority groups I spoke with at Agribank didn't want to necessarily be seen as different. Mary Mercer stressed to me numerous times in our interview that she was just as competent as every other employee in her department, and that she didn't want people to focus on her disability, just her performance, in how they viewed her as a coworker. As quoted previously, Tashika Oanangu liked the focus her coworkers had on performance over diversity because she doesn't come to work to "play politic." La Huong, a Vietnamese securities consultant who is an active member of the Asian workers cultural group at Agribank, expressed sentiments similar to Huong's, and said that while diversity training helps minorities overall, sometimes discussions of diversity can often do more harm than good:

I like to think of it as the similarities rather than the differences. If we all will start with what's in common between you and the next person no matter what their culture -- everybody's different, [but] you're always going to have a common background. So I think of it as the similarities between people. For some reason when you say you're different than I am, you're always thinking negative. . . Coming from a different background

or a different culture, I have to adapt to this culture. It took me a while and so forth. So saying different means usually first reaction is, it's bad.

What I conclude from these responses is that in addition to making the "business case" for diversity clearer, which will help employees to understand the connection between diversity and job performance, Agribank also needs to stress in its diversity training that sameness is not the same as commonality or common purpose. Their ultimate goal in training employees to understand differences is to help them better work with each other. The focus on sameness that many of these respondents promoted would arguably not achieve this result because it seems to deny that there are legitimate differences between employees that need to be accounted for in order to enhance performance. For example, communication styles arguably evolve out of cultural background. Communication is a key to workers performing well as a team or work unit. Thus, cultural difference should be addressed if it affects how the job gets done. Yet, as previously outlined, many respondents at Agribank don't want to focus on difference. What then about diversity do they want to focus on? I'll address this question in the next segment as I explore what approach in the diversity training respondents found most effective of meaningful for their individual contexts.

Dimensions of Training Outcomes

The themes that have thus far been addressed in this chapter -- the lack of diversity in the community, common sense, participants being "already diverse", the golden rule and the issue of divisiveness -- all emerged when I asked respondents about their reaction to the training. In our interviews, once we had explored responses to the diversity training and being required to attend it, I would then ask respondents to recall what the training itself was like, and to recall exercises or content they thought were particularly effective. In this way, I hoped to determine what approaches worked well for

achieving attitudinal outcomes. There were several obstacles to this pursuit, however, that I encountered almost immediately. Very few respondents could remember when they took the training, and many of them went through diversity training over a year ago. For several, it was within the last six months. For all respondents, the diversity training was part of a larger repertoire of training programs offered at Agribank (computer software, team building, new financial products, Franklin Planner training, etc.) Because of these limiting factors, many respondents found it difficult to recollect the diversity training. If this was the case, I would then ask a respondent probing questions for several minutes to help him/her to remember specifics about the training. While I had initially seen the time-lapse from when they'd been through training as an obstacle, over the course of the interviews I began to see it as a positive factor in this research, as what elements of the training did stick out in the minds of the respondents could be determined to have made a more significant, long-term impact on them.

What emerged most strongly for what people found positive about the training were hands-on learning exercises where they were able to get an illustration of diversity and how it plays out in work and society. The exercise people responded most to was called Step Forward/Step Back, in which participants were given cards indicating certain elements of identity (black, female, disabled, etc.). Each category carried certain limitations in terms of the statistical likelihood for success for someone in this group. Based on which cards they had, participants were asked to step forward or step back. By the end of the exercise, participants were able to see a visual demonstration of who is more likely to succeed in society and why. After the exercise, the group would engage in a discussion of their impressions of the limitations presented. Larry Levine stated that Step Forward/Step Back was the only exercise that stood out for him and that it "kind of explained a little bit about diversity to lots of people." Jenna Davis recalled the questions and outcomes from the exercise:

Did you grow up on a farm? Okay. And so take two steps forward. And then it just showed [differences]. But just even asking those questions and having people moving made me realize "wow" there are some people that grew up on farms, interesting. Some people that, you know. . . that we all respond differently. Not everybody was like me.

Mary Mercer described the exercise to me in detail, concluding:

This kind of shows you that we need everybody, because even though you step backwards there is a possibility that you could always move forward. So this was what they were trying to show that the Black person and the blind person could be almost on the same level but with different methods of training and different methods of tools, there is no reason why we can't all work together, diversified if we are, we can work together.

Dave Dreyfus found the exercise effective and likened it to the classic diversity exercise Brown Eyes/Blue Eyes which creates a discriminating "one is better than the other" environment for grade school students whereby they are made to see the effects of discrimination. Dreyfus learned from this exercise when he was in grade school, as well as from the Step Forward/Step Back in training: "I was definitely thinking some of the old "not me" stuff. But then when we got into some of the other things that diversity covers, I'm thinking, I never even thought of that. You learn something all the time, and I definitely learned something out of it." Diane Koviak also described it as a learning experience for her, though painful for a co-worker. This co-worker left the room crying after the exercise as it brought up material from her life that upset her. Koviak remembered in her session of Step Forward/Step Back the trainers used the actual qualities of the participants:

They asked all these questions. All right you were raised in a family of more than three kids, take a step back. And that whole thing -- and I was really surprised at that. Just the combination of my background. That

took me aback. I didn't think it was as bad as I had thought it was going to be. I had heard some remarks from other people. It was very hard for some of them, because it brought up what makes you special. Think about your past. Everything that has happened in your life to this point to make you who you are, and then led us through an exercise like that, and it brought up a lot of really bad memories for some people.

Listening to Koviak's example reminded me of a flaw in some diversity training that was mentioned in Chapter Two. Diversity training can actually be destructive if it brings up negative memories or reactions in participants and does not provide them help in handling them (Caudron, 1993). Koviak said that support was not provided after the Agribank diversity training session she attended.

The second strongest feature of the diversity class content that respondents recalled were videos. Monica Pearsall, a corporate trainer, was very positive about a Jim Autry video on caring leadership. Hunter Sprague thought videos were an excellent learning tool because they provided dynamic examples:

The use of video tapes and having video-taped segments and actually simulating interactions in the workplace and then talking about that, I thought was good. It's one thing to sort of read about it, but then you get to react to a simulated actual experience. The training was structured to be very interactive rather than lecture. I thought that was good. It really tried to pull out what do you think and let's talk about it as opposed to here's a lecture and you just sit and listen.

Brian O'Riarden also stressed the benefits of showing employees specific situations that they can analyze and apply to their jobs:

I don't know if Agribank put these together or whether these were purchased, short video subject vignettes from a management perspective, showing interaction between let's say, a manager and employee or two

employees, and then trying to identify the absence of diversity, some of which were very glaring examples of sexes and races or whatever. And then usually with some kind of a twist towards the end to provoke discussion and kind of let everybody kind of share their personal opinions about it. . . . it was not "this is the company policy on this, and here's how you should treat these situations." It was more of "let's provoke some discussion, and let's kind of see how everyone would deal with these situations."

Diane Koviak recalled a news video that illustrated diversity issues well for her:

I do remember seeing some videos. It was one of the news shows or whatever. And they had actors go in, in different makeup of ages and stuff, and it was unbelievable the reaction and the treatment they received from interviewers. It was just blatant. And on the one hand you're thinking, oh, that would never happen, but it did. I've never experienced any kind of prejudice like that. So that really stuck out in my mind.

The Culture Circle was another exercise offered in the diversity course that two respondents remembered favorably. In this exercise, participants are given a diagram of a circle with eight segments in which to write roles or experiences that they have had in their lives and what they have learned from them. While only two respondents specifically recalled this exercise, they both were very positive about its impact. Eric Linstrom recalled the Culture Circle exercise as a means to stress commonality:

One of the things they did in there, now that you bring that question up, that I thought was pretty effective is we kind of listed just various characteristics. And actually what it brought out was that people that look a lot different, actually each person when you list, whatever ten or twelve characteristics, you find something that you have in common. And you find out that even though this person that sat across from you looked

totally different than you, you would have just said you're on two ends of the spectrum, you found some common ground that you can then go from, and as I think back that was pretty effective.

Cindy Perte was very positive about the exercise and even offered to send me a copy of her completed Culture Circle when I expressed an interest in it. She also assesses its effectiveness:

The goal of it, I believe, was to try to understand why you feel the way you feel today about different stuff and why you are how you are and if you understand that, then you can better understand why someone else, who may have a completely different background, is the other way or a different way. I found it interesting. I like doing kind of self soul-searching -- leading to self knowledge.

Alex Fredon favored knowledge gained through exposure to different cultural perspectives. This exposure was, for him, generated through listening to a panel of Agribank employees from different cultural groups. This panel approach was used in some of the diversity training classes. Fredon explained the process to me :

[There are] several bulletin boards and user groups, groups of people who get together, like, the Afro-American, the gay and lesbians, the Hispanics. There are several and part of the diversity training that I went to had a representative from each one of the these groups or part of these groups, with a group of people in [the] training could ask questions about. I don't know that it was real well-orchestrated. There wasn't a lot of interaction between the people in the class and the panel, [but] it was interesting. There were people from Indonesia and Korea, so the panel was definitely worth it.

Ben Adkins recalled the Reduncia language exercise offered in the class he took as "pretty effective." In this exercise, participants are asked to explain a process to a co-

worker and to use a synonym along with every verb they say, seemingly replicating the experience of people trying to speak English as a second language. "By putting the individual in an environment where they can better empathize with people for whom English might be a second language," Adkins said "[they] start to realize that it is tough to speak a language that you don't know and to read or understand it. Yeah, how do you teach diversity? I think you try to help put people in other people's shoes."

Participants' Assessment of the Diversity Training and Program

In addition to trying to determine the training elements that respondents found most effective, in this line of questioning I also was soliciting general impressions of the diversity program from respondents. I didn't intend to research the entire program when I began interviews at Agribank, but I quickly found that when asked to recall training outcomes, most respondents commented on the broad issue of diversity at their organization. These responses fell into what I would classify as "positive" and "negative" assessments of the diversity training and program. There were two respondents who were more "neutral", in that they said the diversity emphasis was both positive and negative, and these respondents offered similar reasons for their assessment. I'll begin this analysis with an overview of the "positive" responses to the training and the diversity program.

The positive comments about the training and the diversity program centered mainly on the way the training was presented to employees administratively. Fritz Newman stated that the time and attention given to diversity issues evidenced Agribank's commitment to diversity:

I've been here four years, but the past couple of years I've seen a conscientious effort from the company management down to individuals trying to find out more about what other people do. I think the company with a good intention is going through the motions of trying to learn how

to present this information to the people. So they are making a conscientious effort of trying to link actual facts between having diversity in the company and result of a good profitable business.

Newman was, as stated earlier, was fairly positive about the introduction of diversity-related programs at Agribank. He had been through similar programs when he worked on the east coast of the US. Some of the other positive responses were from respondents at Agribank who admitted to having specific apprehensions about having to go through diversity training. These respondents said that the diversity training they went through was essentially a pleasant surprise. Diane Koviak, who had many negative things to say about the entire diversity effort at Agribank, did find that the training was better than she had anticipated:

I went into the program apprehensive and feeling it was probably an exercise in political correctness, which I had an aversion to. But the program was -- I don't want to say on the verge of benign, but it wasn't politically correct. I mean, it was better than I thought. Has it affected the environment? I don't [know].

Brian O'Riarden also thought it was better than he thought it would be and I when asked what his expectations had been, he replied:

Just, okay, these are the words you cannot say. And these are the words you can say, and things like that, which I have a real hard time with. When [they're] more concerned that someone, usually not within the group that's being described, has decided that a particular term is now offensive, rather than worrying about how you're actually perceiving and treating the person or the group that is being described, then I think you're really defeating the whole purpose.

O'Riarden, like Fritz Newman, also felt that the diversity training course was a good vehicle for making Agribank's expectations of employees clear:

I think the way that it was done was very effective. We were given a manual, and it was definitely clear from the git-go that what Agribank's policies are with respect to diversity. And so there was that aspect of it, but it wasn't presented in a "here is the party line, you will memorize this, and repeat it five times a day." But more of an awareness and kind of allowing everyone to kind of work at it from their own angle and relate it to their personal background.

Dave Dreyfus, like O'Riarden was also concerned with what the class would be like. He initially did not like the course, then after consideration felt it did help broaden participants' perspectives:

At first I thought it was kind of like overstaged. The fact that the people they had instructing -- participate in the panel -- were more like instructors -- obviously there were some drastic diverse things about them. [One] gentleman was in a wheelchair. First of all I thought, man, how do you go approach that person, "hey, you're in a wheelchair, how would you like to instruct this class?" And I thought, boy, that's kind of -- and I think about it more, a person like that, you know, there is a lack of awareness. And he talked a lot about "don't help me, I'm an adult and when I want your help I will ask for it." And so there's all sorts of things. He gave a little spiel and it helped people understand what his perspective was, and that's a common thing. You don't know what that person's perspective was, so it helped from that regard. In the end I thought it was good that they did that. It showed that there are diverse people here at Agribank.

Andy Massoli also saw the course as establishing a positive and clear message for employees:

I think the way it was presented was positive. I would say that it was positive because it was all upbeat. It was, like I said, it made common

sense. It was presented in a way -- this is the way they do things at Agribank, and this is the way you should do things anywhere anyway. But we just won't stand for it any other way here at Agribank, and that's fine. That's great.

In this response, Massoli essentially re-frames the issue of "common sense" which when he first had said it in our interview had seemed like a negative impression he had of the training. Here he seems to be saying that the training was positive in part because it re-emphasized common sense. In several of the positive responses to the training, there was a re-emergence of themes described earlier in this chapter. Kim Elberts stated that the training approach was good for those other people who are not "already diverse" and to whom consideration of diversity is not "common sense":

I thought it was pretty well put together. I think they tried to present it in a way that got you more involved. I thought it was pretty good. It definitely helped people see clearer what could be determined to be prejudiced or what-from the movies and stuff like that. They [the examples] were kind of exaggerated, but it was kind of funny. But I think some people need that.

Steve Buxton also thought it was well geared to the audience:

I thought it was really appropriate for this audience because I do think that some of the basic stuff didn't ever seem to have been communicated to people before here. And I did think the managerial parts of it were pretty good because I went through it with a bunch of people who were line managers, and they were truly into the manager situation about "how do I deal with this bunch of employees versus now this group this employee? How do I deal with the gay hater and the gay guy in the same department who have to work together on a team? Or the man who refuses to take orders from women or something like that or that kind of stuff?" That's

concrete stuff. I think really worked well for a lot of people. I did like the structure of the class.

The many managers I spoke with expressed an interest in the issues that Buxton referred to. They wanted to learn about how to properly handle diversity issues with their employees. I gathered that the diversity training that was offered to managers was more effective than the training generally offered to non-supervisory employees. This is not to say that there were no negative comments from managers. Devon Ayers, who liked Agribank's administrative focus on diversity, was critical about the delivery of managerial diversity training:

I think it was designed very well. I think the execution was not done well.

I think we took individuals in the lower levels in the organization and made them facilitators. People that really -- and most large organizations whether we want to say there's a power structure or not, there's a power structure. And if you put some little person in charge of facilitating that has no real job, and they're in charge of being the diversity expert for this [upper level] group of folks, it's not going to work.

As far as other negative assessments of the training, three people thought it was too long and one respondent said it was too short. Many of the other negative responses to the training were, ironically, centered around the same element as the positive comments. This was the approach respondents perceived Agribank was taking in the training. While most people did not critique specific exercises, two people thought the emphasis on issues of sexual orientation was not appropriate. I had asked Hunter Sprague, one of these respondents, what he thought the training was stating and what he objected to. He responded:

That this is a legitimate lifestyle. Being a little more sensitive, recognizing that some people really have a view that that's a wrong lifestyle. And, yeah, it's important that we don't have prejudice. But not trying to change

the value. And not that they really tried to force you to believe that, but there was sort of an underlying assumption that if you don't accept that in your value system, that there's something wrong with you.

Jason Simons was also made uncomfortable in the training, but for a different reason:

What made me feel uncomfortable is the warm fuzzy feeling they try to give us. The class was a little too hands-on. There was a lot of their terminology. There was people [saying] that you can replace that our common slang or common business language with these other words. And some of them were like, oh, yeah, I can see that, you know. . . But a couple of them were well, you know, you're sort of just crossing the line a little bit too far with some of the [political correctness].

Simons was one of several to comment on the issue of sensitive terminology. A few of the respondents seemed to actively dislike training content that focused on semantics, though arguably this is one of the "simpler" issues that diversity training can address. Brianna Kimbrel said that language was also problematic when applied to gender issues in the workplace:

I think they take it to an extreme. After people had taken diversity training [they] became more sensitive to the things that people would say than they possibly had been or would have been before. And people would say things, not meaning them in any derogatory manner whatsoever, but just things that they had been saying for years and years. We're made to feel that those are really bad things that we're saying or doing and a lot of that comes because of sexual harassment [training], as well as diversity.

The comments Jason Simons made in the initial part of his previous quote, about the attitudes he perceived in the training, was also echoed by several other respondents.

Fritz Newman didn't like what he saw as the "forced" approach the facilitators took in the training:

I know that some people felt that some of the presentation for the training was sort of done on a "rah-rah" basis. It was kind of like cheer-leading, and some people - I don't know if cynicism is the word or whatever -- it got a lot of air time, and you were told it was important and it is. It's just that the way it was sort of a superficial in the approach and in some of the training. That kind of mixed the message a little.

La Huong, who was very positive about Agribank's diversity initiative, still felt it was being pushed too much, and that this might over time hurt diversity efforts by bombarding employees. Huong said "I think they'll learn not to push it as much, just kind of make it here if you need it or you can have it as a resource." Brianna Kimbrel also commented on the "overselling" of the diversity training:

It seemed that the trainer spent a good deal of the time trying to validate the fact that we needed to be more diversified or more tolerant or whatever. And more time may be needed to be spent on examples, and there was a lot of interaction in the group, and I'm not saying that that's not good. But if you have a large group like we did, and then you have someone who really likes to hear themselves talk and wants their views always heard, then it becomes a little bit more difficult for people in the room to share and to really get a different flavor, because you seem to always be going to one or two people in the classroom, and then you don't really get to have more of the instruction and examples.

Like Kimbrel, Kevin Monahan also commented on the negative elements of the training that centered around issues of gender:

It still is the glass ceiling for a lot of minorities and females, and I understand that there's anger there, and they want to make up for it in a

short period of time. And I do think over for the last ten years men, white males, have been punished for things that have happened back in the 60s because there was no opportunity there for them. So now everybody is mad, and they're all trying to jam it all into place and make up for thirty years of that kind of stuff in two minutes.

Monahan is essentially referring in this comment to the overall process of attitudinal change. He, like many others, both respondents and educational theorists, believes that this change only happens over time, over a slow, deliberate process of trying to change attitudes. If this argument is true, then a two to eight hour diversity training session will arguably not generate long-standing attitudinal change. This issue is the focus of the next theme in this chapter.

Dimensions of Attitudinal Change

Once I had established the various factors in a respondent's perspective on the diversity training, and once participants were sufficiently "primed" in the subject at hand, I was able to move into exploring the central focus of this entire study: whether attitudes have been changed in the employees at Agribank as a result of the diversity training. This line of questioning begs several other questions. First, were there problems at Agribank regarding diversity issues? Most people said that the climate for diversity at Agribank was positive, and as stated in the beginning of this chapter, several respondents saw the introduction of the training program as an indication that there must have been problems to warrant spending time and money in this way.

Therefore, when I would ask about any attitudinal changes that may have occurred, I was careful to couch the question in terms of what people may have observed in co-workers or in the institution at large. With few exceptions, respondents said that they had not noticed any attitudinal changes from either party. Many respondents were

also emphatic about not seeing diversity-related problems prior to the training. Ann Everett's response was indicative of this sentiment:

Where I worked that we never really had those problems, and I know certainly, I'm sure there were cases of it, but not anything that I can think back that stuck out to me, so I certainly didn't see, gosh, yeah, we see people go through this, here's how they were before, and there was a marked change afterwards. No. There wasn't anything glaring about someone's attitudes or that type of thing I thought they should have changed either.

This type of response is what I might term "denial of discord." Earlier in this chapter I discussed "denial of difference", or the impression I developed that people were uncomfortable acknowledging that there were cultural differences among different groups of people, and that these differences may need to be accounted for and paid attention to. In assessing whether attitudinal change had taken place, I also sensed that many respondents did not believe, or did not want to believe, that there were any diversity-related problems at Agribank. I am not saying that there were or are. Yet, if Agribank had conducted a cultural audit prior to the training, they would have uncovered whether or not this was the case. Because they did not, as far as I know, there is no baseline of prior attitudes towards diversity to compare my results to. What I did determine from the interviews was that only two respondents considered some attitudinal change to have occurred as a result of the training.

Mary Mercer saw evidence of an attitudinal change in her co-workers:

I felt by going to these seminars -- I really enjoyed them because there were different kinds of situations that was presented, and I was interested in knowing how those people approach it. And I think several have gone back with a better attitude of understanding.

Tashika Oanangu also perceived positive climate changes for minorities since Agribank began its diversity initiative:

I think it's changed. I think they are more accepted. [Workers] are more aware of the differences. I think Agribank now is better than it used to be. I think they probably like people to [be] open-minded. That's how I see [it]. Agribank does have a different groups of people, and they do have a week of diversity so that it's giving you a chance to talk about your culture, talk about the differences and stuff. And even they have a group of gays, lesbians, and stuff. They can find their own group.

Devon Ayers did see some attitudinal changes overall, but not in the leadership levels of the company:

I would say through the corporate culture below kind of mid-level there seems to be more of an acceptance, and then you get to the level where they're just part of another generation and another headset, and either they don't get it or don't want to get it or some combination. So I think it is them. I think there's more acceptance and at the low to mid-level inside the corporation. Probably more awareness than there used to be at higher levels, but I'm not -- I think I see almost more patronizing than really understanding and valuing. I don't know that this organization is much different than society at large but I would suggest that some folks have just learned what not to say. They've just gotten a whole lot more cautious in how they do anything.

The positive part of Ayers comment is, of course, tempered by the fact that she sees changes as limited to certain levels of the organization. The levels of power are, in her opinion, not being reached. Monica Pearsall would echo her sentiments. This is certainly a threat to enabling attitudinal change, for if it is the case that upper level administrators at Agribank are "talking the talk but not walking the walk", that sends a

message to the rest of the employees who work under them. Under these conditions, it would be difficult to generate a culture change regarding diversity at Agribank

Again, almost all of the respondents denied that any attitudinal change has taken place. Most of them were very succinct about it. Peter Dunster, who felt positively about the rationale for Agribank's offering diversity training, said "I don't think anything has changed that I've noticed. Diversity didn't come up very often in meetings or at any time." Cindy Perte said "I wouldn't say that I really got a lot out of diversity training other than just an awareness. And, yeah, I've completed something that was a requirement to take."

Brianna Kimbrel not only did not see evidence of attitudinal changes, she felt more than training would be required to create attitudinal change:

In the class I didn't see it, the class making a lot of headway in people's thinking, and we spent a lot of time on saying the same things over and over again. And I think there are a lot of perceptions that people have that are very difficult when they get to be in their 30s to start changing. That's not to say that we can't at least make them more aware. But it's more difficult to change after that point in time. So they're making inroads into people that they're hiring, and I think at the same time they're trying to make inroads into how we all deal with it. But it's such a huge, huge, corporation. It's probably going to take a lot, and people take the course and then they go back and they make fun of it and they talk about it and I think a couple of weeks after they've been to the course, I think they pretty much forget about a lot of it.

Eric Linstrom was also pessimistic about how much effect a training course could have:

Everybody kind of comes back from it kind of pumped up. You get some information. I don't believe that it really had any impact on me. I'll tell you personally I think you learn how to deal with diversity as you're being

raised as a child and what kind of home that you're in. And those are the beliefs and the characteristics that are the foundation of how you act, not only as a child, but as an adult. And you can throw a one-day training at anybody when you're an adult. You can get them to be cognizant now of an issue, but I don't believe -- people are just too busy at this point in their life to really implement a change in the way that they feel with things. I don't think there's a significant impact that comes from the training. It has to be inbred -- you have to live it.

These last responses from Kimbrel and Linstrom bring up a very important issue that emerged in the discussion of affective outcomes. Not only should one gauge change by what issues the company had prior to training, one must also examine people's approaches to the question of whether attitudinal change is possible at all. I found many respondents, like Kimbrel and Linstrom, would not only answer whether they had observed attitudinal changes, they would comment on whether they thought they could be created at all. Most seemed to indicate that they could not, and sometimes in interviews I sensed that respondents thought I was "silly" for asking. I sensed a pervasive belief that "you can't teach old dogs new tricks", that once adults' personalities and value systems were developed, they would rarely change. Because this response was so prevalent in interviews, I think it warrants exploration. For arguably it is more difficult for people to see evidence of attitudinal change if they do not think it is possible in the first place. As respondents found this issue an important qualifier to their assessment of affective change, I have chosen to include it in this discussion.

Steve Buxton, who has developed some corporate education programs, when asked about whether he thought attitudes could be changed, replied:

I'm somewhat skeptical at times about whether you can. You can't legislate attitudinal changes. You can hire for them and you can change the culture of the company by who you hire or who you promote or who

you, which people with which attitudes you reward. But you can't necessarily force attitude changes. You can do a lot of things around communication to let people know what's acceptable and what's desirable behavior, but a lot of horses won't drink even [then].

Diane Koviak has also developed training programs, and in her opinion: There's certainly a degree of influence and a degree of progress that can be made with adults, but I think that there's a programming that is in place when they're young that influences their adult behavior. And I don't think one course, I don't think a week-long course will change that programming.

Kathy Engler expressed a belief in the indelible influence of childhood, as Eric Linstrom had. She was pessimistic about the ability to generate attitudinal change after childhood:

A lot of that is going to be hard, to train them because it's based on how they were raised. And at that point after so many years, I don't know that you can ever change them or train them to believe something different, because I think it's probably going to be already ingrained in them. I don't think that you can change them all the way, no.

La Huong believed that the ability to create affective change depended on internal motivation:

We can change people's attitudes that are willing to change. I've been with people who are just not willing to change. They are set in their way. My own folks are set that way. No matter how much you [try to] change them, they came to the United States, they came [at] 50 years old, and they just want to go back, they just hate the way it is. I don't expect everybody, not a whole lot of people actually, to change their attitudes.

Jenna Davis believed not only in the necessity of an internal readiness to change, she also thinks attitudinal change in adults requires a significant emotional event:

I don't think you can [change attitudes]. I think it's up to each person to have some life-moving experience to change themselves. I don't think a course will do it. For instance, I know it sounds crazy. I don't know where I stand with the homosexuality thing. Are they good people or are they bad people? I don't know. But I know that my attitude would change tremendously if my daughter would turn out to be a lesbian. But just going to a course -- that's not what's going to happen. It's got to be something else that we can change their attitudes [with]. Maybe people change, but I don't see a lot of it.

Dave Dreyfus also advocated the need for an event in an individual's life to help him or her to change. When asked about whether affective change had occurred as a result of diversity training at Agribank, he expressed a cynical perspective that also offered by Devon Ayers: "If their attitude hasn't changed, they're just a little more discreet."

Adkins also used an analogy for how an event is the catalyst for an adult's attitudinal change:

I've had neighbors and people who I considered good friends. A guy that when I was growing up, he was a block over and he was just like a big brother figure to me and my best friend. And you know my parents liked him and everything like that, but he was from Mississippi, and he was an open racist. And I guess I feel lucky I knew that was wrong back then. I don't know how I know that's wrong. It's not like my parents drilled me on that. Maybe nothing is going to change his mind. I think it takes an event. I'm a computer person and we always preach to non-nerds, "you know you've got to backup your data", and people don't do that until they lose

something. If you lose your thesis, I bet you always backup everything after that because you've been stung.

There were several respondents who seemed to grudgingly admit that attitudinal change was possible. Larry Levine said attitudinal change can happen but that:

People are going to be biased; it just doesn't have to be about our race, our education, our religion. That's the nature of people, people are different. I don't think you'll ever get a blindfold approach, which is I think what the world would like to see everyone incorporate. I'm sure the government would like to see that; I'm sure the states would like to see that; I'm sure the schools would like to see that. I'm sure the churches would like to see that.

Monica Pearsall said of changing attitudes "I think you can, but it's a slow process and it has to be done. [But] some people you won't change and you have to accept that some people won't change. Andy Massoli felt that creating attitudinal change "might be possible. I think if it is, I think they're wrong, because I don't think that they're going to do that with this type of training. I think it makes them more aware of your attitudes. Because I think basically 99.9 percent of the people follow diversity anyway in their lives more times than not."

I then asked Massoli what he meant by using the term "follow diversity." He replied:

Just the fact that they're good people. 99.9 percent of the people in the world, they're good people. But point one percent and you're not going to change them. That point one or point two percent or point three percent or whatever figure you come up with, you're not going to change them anyway, not by this training. [You'll] just make them more aware of what's out there.

I was struck by Massoli's comments on how people "follow diversity" anyway, for it seemed to imply a "denial of discrimination" that I did not hear from any other respondents. While many people were not enthusiastic about going through diversity training, none of them, aside from Massoli, had denied that there was prevalent racism, sexism, homophobia and other forms of discrimination in society.

Two of the respondents who felt affective change was a possible result of diversity training felt that such an outcome would only be created when workers had continual opportunities to apply and practice what they learned in training. Fritz Newman offered an interesting analogy to illustrate this point:

It's like Driver's Ed, you can teach somebody how to drive, but if they don't have a car and don't drive, the lessons aren't going to sink in quite as much and/or stay as long. And I think that the most you can do with the training in this circumstance, is to open minds maybe refresh from time to time to make sure that they stay open so that if a diversity type of situation comes in, like you get a resume from somewhere -- from somebody who doesn't look like us, whoever the "us" is, that the door isn't closed when that happens. I just think that maybe some sort of refresher, booster shot periodically might be a way of just sort of keeping that door open.

Alex Fredon also attributed the likelihood of attitudinal change to a hands-on learning process:

I think it takes practice as well as training, and I think when people get trained, then they need to have some incentive to go out and practice what they've just learned. It works the same way as it does if you're learning how to use a computer. Practice it. You can lose it fairly quickly. If you don't practice it within a few days, you tend to drift away from it. Just because they say they learned it and they will practice it in the future

doesn't mean they will. There needs to be some prompting to go on after that.

Newman and Fredon both stressed application as the key to generating attitudinal change. Fredon in particular seemed to be also be stating that change must be made in the best interests of employees. This idea of "best interests" in this environment seems to be more tied to the issue of behavioral than attitudinal change. By this statement, I mean that if a company like Agribank is asking that it's employees adopt the principle advocated in diversity training, the way that this would be demonstrated is through their behavior. A person might stop making ethnic jokes, for examples, or begin using more culturally sensitive terminology. These are changes in behavior, though, not necessarily attitudes. What this creates too, is the condition that both Ayers and Dreyfus attributed to management; they're not looking at diversity differently and have not become more understanding of difference, they've just changed how they act or what they say.

A number of the respondents at Agribank were far more positive about the ability to create behavioral change through diversity training than they were about creating change that's truly attitudinal. Cindy Perte was particularly direct about this point. When I asked if she thought it was possible to change people's attitudes, she replied "Yeah. If you tell people that you would be reprimanded or canned if you continue such and such behavior. I mean, yeah, threaten people." Peter Dunster said he thought attitudes could be changed because "if you want to keep your job, you kind of have to agree with what people go along with." I believe Perte and Dunster were indicating that it is this behavioral stance an employer can take, the concept of reward and punishment, that may in time generate attitudinal change. Hunter Sprague and Dobie Franken were also more positive about the process of behavioral change. Sprague not only advocated the continual exposure approach cited by Newman and Fredon, he also saw the role of behavior in eventually shaping attitudes while not necessarily changing them:

If somebody is closed to diversity or has a prejudice, going to a class and doing diversity training, probably won't fundamentally change that person. It might make some difference. I guess I'm not saying you shouldn't do diversity training, but it's difficult to change people's deep-rooted values. I think we can make some progress, but I think we'd be kidding ourselves if we think fundamentally -- and I'm being a little short-sighted here -- the Agribank diversity program will change somebody who is bigoted, and then after the diversity training, have you completely changed the person? Probably not. But probably the net effect of every company around the whole society if we are building a culture and a society that recognizes that, over time I think we as a culture and society will become more tolerant and more aware of diversity. As opposed to say[ing] this single program at this company is really going to make a difference -- in the employees here. If it is known at this company -- I think it is --that we're a company that emphasizes the importance of diversity. If you know that and you work here and that it's expected that you have that tolerant behavior, even if deep down inside you don't share that value, but you know that this is a company that does; you will probably modify your behavior not because you fundamentally believe that, but because you know that that's a value this company has. . . . You can't really change values. But you can create an environment where it's clear that that kind of behavior is not accepted, and I think people will change their behavior, without necessarily changing their values.

Franken also saw a behavioral approach as more likely to affect change over time.

When asked if he thought attitudes could be changed, he answered:

I don't think you can, but I think, obviously, it's like anything else. If you're [racist] or you're homophobic or any of those things. I don't think

you can change them. But the way you have to touch those people is to [say] "These actions will affect your employment, and therefore your job, therefore income if you have a view of people at home and in the workplace that's not allowed. Some people you have to be really forceful with them. But actually changing them through the classes, I don't think so. You may be able to view it differently. You may get them to have more respect for it, but as for changing them through the classes-no. I don't think people go through a metamorphosis because they went to a class... if you have thirty years of learning it one way, and then you're not going to take a day [to change]. You're probably going to need much training. I think it can happen. You may be enlightened, somewhat, but "we're going to change all these people by having this class and also to have them think the way they're supposed to" -- I don't think it's going to happen.

What I brought away from these discussions about attitudinal change was that while many people quickly said that attitudes cannot be changed in adults, many of them seemed to believe that over time and continued exposure, this type of change often will occur. There were those like Newman and Fredon who stressed continual application of concepts to reach this end, and there were also many people who had what I might call as "fake it until you make it" approach to the outcomes of training. By this I mean that while employees at Agribank may not want to change or think they will, if they make behavioral accommodations to Agribank's standards over time, this will likely create some attitudinal change. If employees receive the message that understanding and appreciating diversity is important at Agribank, and that it is tied to how they must do their job and how they will be evaluated, then over time this understanding will hit a saturation point. They will see why they need to understand and value diversity. Arguably, at this point a change in attitude will have occurred. So while I cannot say after

conducting this study that employee attitudes towards diversity at Agribank have been specifically changed, I can say that an organizational message that diversity is important has been sent. To note, my pursuit of gauging attitudinal change was not shared by Agribank corporation. According to Ron Morris, Agribank was only looking to achieve "awareness" as a central outcome of their diversity initiative. This objective was definitely met, as the following analysis attests.

Raising the Awareness

As the previous quotes suggest, most respondents did not see attitudinal change as either a real or in some cases reasonable outcome for the diversity training. What many did indicate, however, was that if attitudinal changes were not achieved, an overall awareness was. Respondents were much more positive about the diversity training and programs having created an awareness than they were about it creating attitudinal change. Dave Dreyfus acknowledged this change in our interview when he said " The word diversity is in people's vocabulary now. Before the training, maybe they had things to bring into people's awareness, but I was not aware of it." Peter Dunster was also positive about how awareness had been raised: "It did make me aware that diversity is out there. I didn't think about it as much before. I mean, once they started the training program, I know there's always something to think about." Most respondents also saw raising awareness of diversity issues as a benefit to Agribank. Going through diversity training, according to Kevin Monahan:

It helps you see the differences. I like diversity. I had a real interesting one where they showed like how women look at stuff and how guys look at stuff. When you go in, you got to understand there's a difference there and that people look at stuff different. And I think that was really a helpful thing. I think it's an awareness thing. I think they let you see that

kind of stuff, that there are other groups here you need to consider. You need to understand that there are different views than your own.

Larry Levine was less positive about awareness as a sufficient outcome of the investment Agribank put into diversity programs, but he did acknowledge their value. As far as the outcomes of training, Levine said:

I think the best thing you get out of that is an awareness type thing. The way you do anything is on-the-job training in real life situations. You know, I think it's good for an awareness, but to me unless you work in an environment with people and your feeling towards the success or unsuccesses is going to be how those other people do in collectively getting the job done.

Tashika Oanangu, like Levine, saw the development of an awareness as positive, though was not sure of its overall effect. She felt that people at Agribank were interested in learning about other cultures out of curiosity, but that this did not necessitate their experiencing a resultant attitudinal change. Regarding the results of training, Oanangu said:

Whether they change or not that's hard to know. I think [it] tends to probably make them aware, and whether it's effective or not, I still think that it's needed, the diversity training. Because at least you let people [become] aware of other cultures, why some people [are] thinking this way, and why do they do it this way.

Both Jenna Davis and Ben Adkins saw an awareness of difference as having a positive effect on the workforce. Davis argued that :

We need to really break out and realize that there's a bigger world out there. So I think we might not have, in the past, have recognized since people are from different areas, and I know there have been a lot of discussions about AIDS, and I don't know if that is because there is a

strong gay community at Agribank or if it's just because AIDS is a big disease, and if it had been cancer, it would have been cancer or whatever, but I guess those things are positive to raise the awareness. Maybe it just brought more awareness to me like this woman in our department. It made me realize, well, she does have a different background than I do, but I think I would have come to that conclusion anyway.

Ben Adkins, while positive about the benefits of raising awareness, also referred to having had this mindset anyway:

I think for some people -- and I'm one as it comes to some of these items so far -- that just hearing it again reinforces the message to that, "oh, we all know we're supposed to treat people as we want to be treated." But if you hear that for hours or days or weeks or months, you might actually get it stuck in your subconscious and you start to practice it.

While I was questioning about attitudinal change, as I had elected that as the focus of my inquiry, it's important to note that respondents did not have the impression that this was what Agribank was trying to accomplish in the training. In fact, most of them sensed that Agribank simply wanted to raise awareness, which again, Ron Morris corroborated. Jason Simons, who said during our interview that "maybe even talking about it right now is "raising the awareness", said of Agribank that "they're just trying to make us aware rather than force things upon us at this point. I guess awareness is basically their key mode." Monica Pearsall also "looked at it as an awareness," adding "There are a lot of issues that I thought we should have covered and did not. We touched on age and they didn't consider age a diversity problem." Pearsall felt then that there needed to be even more awareness of other diversity issues Agribank did not touch on.

Overall, despite their more critical comments about diversity training, nearly all the respondents saw an awareness of diversity as a positive development for Agribank. Brianna Kimbrel was the only respondent who was distinctly negative about the impact

of an awareness of diversity on the workplace climate. She relayed the experience of her work unit after the training:

People take the course and then they go back and they make fun of it and they talk about it and I don't think they really -- I think a couple of weeks after they've been to the course, I think they pretty much forget about a lot of it.

When I asked Kimbrel what part of the training people were making fun of, she said it was the segments on sexual harassment. She indicated that one of the negative outcomes of trying to raise awareness of gender issues was fear of impropriety and being accused of harassment:

I'm afraid to talk or to say or to do anything with anybody because you can be reported for this or because it makes people so much aware of what they can report and what they can do. But then as a supervisor, I think that you start becoming afraid to say or do anything, that it's going to be taken the wrong way. And a lot of times we say things we're not really thinking about what we're saying, and then somebody -- and if someone has an ulterior motive, they can use that to go to human resources to say that this person is doing this or doing -- and I've seen it happen. It's a hard environment to work in if you're not used to that kind of environment and brought up in that environment and you're afraid to say or do anything.

In analyzing the data on attitudinal outcomes from Agribank's diversity program, I have determined that while no respondent said that his/her attitudes towards diversity have changed as a result of training, many came away from the training with a heightened awareness of diversity issues. None of the respondents indicated that they had changed their cultural values or belief systems, though arguably many didn't think they might have needed to, as they were "already diverse." In the interviews, I discovered that many respondents think that directing how one acts is more feasible than directing how one

thinks. Changing how some employees act about diversity seems to be the outcome Agribank's diversity initiative has achieved. According to their self reports, many respondents also think they are now more aware and understanding of what cultural diversity is. I posit that behavioral change and an awareness can over time lead to a change in attitude. As employees make the specific changes in action and understanding that Agribank requires of them, they may begin to value diversity for how important it is to their employer and may then come to change their attitudes about cultural difference.

Respondents as Consultants: Their Suggestions for Improving Training and Generating Attitudinal Change

After the I'd worked through the central portion of the interview protocol, which centered around the process and results of the diversity training, the respondents and I would move into a discussion of their opinions on how the training could be improved, not only in terms of presentation, but also what could be offered to increase the likelihood of attitudinal change taking place in respondents. I would begin this discussion by giving the respondent a hypothetical situation: Imagine you were asked to develop and lead that training. What would you do differently? What elements of the existing training might you keep? Most respondents resisted being asked to reply to this scenario initially as it was so comprehensive; they didn't feel they could answer it well without advance preparation. However, once they began talking through it, many people found that they had numerous ideas on how to present this type of material. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, there has been no follow up training, nor is there likely to be. Several respondents commented on this as a necessary step in creating attitudinal change: there has to be continued emphasis on diversity. Aside from follow up, the suggestions I analyzed fell into three main categories: more material promoting learning about oneself and others, more emphasis on the business case for diversity, and more role-playing activities to promote hands-on learning.

The first group of responses concerns the concept of learning about oneself and others. Peter Dunster felt that exposure to difference is important for creating understanding across cultural differences:

I would advise people out there to just talk about their background, where they came from, just let everybody know that even though we're from the same country or from the same state, how we differ with everybody out there. You may even work with somebody for a few years and you don't even know that diversity exists everywhere. You can't really avoid that. It exists with everybody. That's why we need to know -- we need to be aware. That's the biggest thing.

When asked if he believed there were specific benefits from learning about other cultures, Dunster responded:

Yeah, I do. You look at what you have here, and then you look at what they have, and maybe you can feel better off or they're better off or once again it makes you more aware of how we really are different and how we are similar.

Ann Everett credited this exposure with making diversity "real" for people: Why not as part of that two- or three-hour training session bring in people that contribute to the diversity of the company and expose us to that? I mean you see these people that maybe they're from India and they wear the turbans and you see them around. Why not have someone like that come and talk about their experience and their experience here in the company and living and just so that we can connect to them more on a personal level or maybe an African-American or we have a woman that's blind here or hearing-impaired. I think that would bring it more to the forefront. I think you can see these people, but I think that maybe that would be one way to maybe forge somewhat of a connection. Have that

be part of the diversity training. Because it makes it more real, more tangible to have somebody stand up and talk about it and maybe make it a discussion-type forum too so that people can ask questions, but I think making it more real for people, with a person, that might be helpful. Because I think a lot of times people, just not necessarily speaking directly to diversity, things that you don't know, you tend to be somewhat, I don't want to say uninterested, but uneasy with and the reality of it is not the perceptions. So I think sometimes if you can just put people in that situation, and then they realize, "oh, this isn't so bad" or "yeah, [now] I know that doesn't make me nervous."

Like Everett, Monica Pearsall also pointed out people's unease with difference and how exposure can help to increase their comfort level:

I think the majority of people are insecure, and by accepting other things or change, it lessens their fitting in and they just can't deal with it. And I also think maybe a better way to do this, instead of throwing all of this at us in four hours and covering, you know, age, race, culture, natural origin, all that, maybe do one at a time. Pick a year to do it and very subtly, encourage it and work it into your work environment. The videos that we've had on different cultures and things, that was just kind of a nice thing to have as a nice way to spend your lunch. Have speakers occasionally on different things. We've got black awareness month coming up, and they're doing an art exhibit in our building from African artists, and that's a wonderful way to work on that. I think that's the kind of [a] way to very subtly bring this stuff up. People don't get threatened then, and by running these things a week or more at a time, you just kind of get immersed in it. And then it's kind of like, "oh, yeah, you know, that's good." And it let's people sit back, kind of take it in, mull it around

in their mind, and then maybe after that have some discussion, what did you think? What did we do right? What would you have rather seen?

You have questions you can ask.

Stu Varson also advocated how an "exposure to difference" approach can make employees feel less threatened:

I think you could basically have people [of] different ethnic backgrounds and religious backgrounds maybe put on a little seminar. Maybe a half an hour seminar that people would attend. We have so many meetings here, it's just unbelievable. I think something like that to me would be more beneficial to have somebody just for a half an hour talk about the Moslem religion, not trying to preach it, just explain it. I think you have a Seik come in and, maybe, talk or a Vietnamese come in and talk about life in Vietnam and why they're in this country. I think that's what people would feel more comfortable with. In my opinion that would do more to relieve a lot of people's tensions than many of the training programs that we're using here.

Mary Mercer's comments gave credence to this overall line of argument for she considers her work relationships and productivity to have been enhanced by her co-workers understanding her:

I have told several people my situation. They have been negative to me right at the beginning because they didn't know me and the background where I was coming from. And sometimes I don't tell them because I feel like I'm going to wait until I see if the situation is needed. Well, there's been many times the situation has been needed. I will go to that person personally and tell them the situation. Why such and such happens, and why I am the way I am. And, you know, I see them change almost overnight. Their attitude toward me has greatly improved because they

understood where I was coming from. Now, if that person can do that, I think they're open to it, but people just don't do that right off the bat. But for me I feel like I have to tell people this situation that I'm disabled and I wear a brace. They change their attitude towards me just like a drop of a hat, you know. I mean, they're just completely different -- about it. They understand the situation and they're willing to work with you. Not just my manager but my coworkers. So when I don't tell my coworkers, they have a wrong impression of me.

La Huong, who is also a member of a minority group, agreed with Mercer in the benefits minorities experience when co-workers understand cultural difference. He also connected the benefits of their having this exposure to the argument that it must appeal to their self interest:

I came from a different background. So I want to promote this so people will accept me more so I have my own agenda, and this is great, this is going on because it's going my way. What I'm thinking is, okay, now that I'm trying to convince other people to go my way as well. In that essence they really have to show people how can they benefit from it. Okay? If it's just a business need, okay. I'm an individual -- I come here and work -- who's the profits going to go to? It's going to go to the company. I'm not getting anything out of it. So as well as the business needs, you have to make a connection to the individual.

In addition to Huong's, several of the other respondents' comments on exposure to self and others concerned the idea of appealing to self-interest, a theme that would emerge more strongly in the academic site, Nova State University. Fritz Newman advocated what many faculty at Nova State would, that diversity thrusts in an institution need to be presented as in the best interests of constituents. By having this focus, training and other programs are more likely to be accepted and adopted. He also echoed what

Pearsall said, that over time and continual exposure the message is more likely to be received fully and positively:

You know it's just by making it an attractive a thing as possible or just lure as many people in. Obviously the more money you're willing to spend on it, the more attractive you can make things like free lunches or free pizza. What we do have at Agribank that I think is sort of helpful along these lines is that on the various Quickmail bulletin boards, there is a bulletin board for lesbians and for Indians and the Jewish resource and the Christian resource and frequently they have like these diversity days and things like that, the messages pop up onto the bulletin boards. The people who follow those particular bulletin boards are informed about "well, come and learn about Ramadan" and we had these, at lunchtime, tapes on various countries and their cultures and things like that. Again, voluntary attendance and you could always sweeten the pie with a little free lunch or something like that. That's the kind of thing that might lure people in and start, like leaven in making bread. You start it a little bit and sort of let it move organically through whole mix.

Eric Newsom specifically disagreed with the "free lunch" concept for putting diversity in one's best interest. He said instead that creating understanding and acceptance of diversity was best driven off support from management and a connection to work objectives. He described his former workplace where he felt they were a very strong team and people worked well together. Having management support and time to develop as a team was crucial to their success in meeting business objectives:

Because I think if you don't get that, if you don't have somebody from above coming in and saying, "oh, it's okay that you're not going to get the job done today. We're going to sacrifice today for the long run here."

You have somebody coming in from a leadership standpoint above you

saying that, then you're cool, you're fine with that. Because you're like, okay, you just accept it. But if you don't, you're just going to keep on plugging away toward day-to-day business goals and because that's basically how you're measured. When it comes down to it, the end of the year, you are going to be measured primarily on the business results. I think you've got to build things from the people's objectives. If you're the manager, you just have to, because you're going to drive off of those. We're just human beings that way. There was nothing in my performance objectives related to diversity [here]. So with that, I wasn't going to focus any time on it. I wasn't going to consciously focus any time on it. If an issue came up that whether it was diversity or interpersonal, I'd deal with it. But I didn't actively plan to do anything because I wasn't being evaluated on that objective. So maybe that's something they could do is build something into the performance objectives of people. That can make make a difference in this issue.

Brian O'Riarden stated that a clearer sense of self-benefit, as well as a clearer statement of the business case for diversity, was more likely to increase employee buy-in:

I think making the case for diversity as good policy on a business level, kind of this is the way society is changing, and you better be cognizant of it or you're going to be left behind, is probably the tact to take in those situations because it makes it a less "you're a closed-minded bigot if you don't see, if you don't do this, this, and this" and really makes more of an objective case that this is the way things are, and you need to recognize it and embrace these attitudes. You have to present it on a less adversarial basis and without saying "you're a narrow-minded bigot, you need to embrace these other cultures" and put it in a "here is why it's in your interest. Here is why you need to recognize the fact that you are not

sensitive to these issues, and this is why it's in your best interest." I think anytime you're trying to convince someone of anything, you're going to be more successful if you can put it in terms of "here's how you will benefit from doing this."

Louis Schraft also advocated Agribank's having a stronger focus on the business case for diversity:

I really do feel that you have to make a business case for it, otherwise I think there is something to the argument that how much an employer [should] do to address these areas. And I think we've tried hard, [we were] given a whole lecture on the business case for diversity to try to set the stage for it. I do agree with that. I think you do have to talk about the business case for it, which is somewhat selfish-motivated. But we are in a business, we're here to make money, to grow, and if there isn't a business case for it, how much of your time and efforts and energy should be on non-business things ? You have to think about that.

Steve Buxton also said that this while focus was made clear to employees in the diversity training, it needed to be stressed more strongly:

I think there was a fairly good emphasis on it but probably not as heavily as I'd have pushed it. I think we really need the multi-marketing focus in here, and some of the stuff that was in the session I was in -I was opposed to some of the more trainer-like, you know, draw pictures. . . "Let's draw a picture of diversity."

The third theme of how respondents would re-design the training concerned role play, or ways to make the diversity training course more "hands-on" Many respondents seemed to favor role-play exercises because they were more interesting and participatory. Arguably, as an estimated 30-50% of the American population are kinesetic-tactile or hands-on learners (Kolb, 1984), this type of activity would likely increase respondents'

ability to learn and retain what was presented in the training class. This learning theory approach was particularly espoused by Dave Dreyfus:

Maybe talk about the different ways people learn. If you can do exercises that would be like the visual or whatever. Definitely do it in a way that bombards them from all those [directions]. I think you've got to bombard them from all different directions. To me those exercises are very good. Come up with a different exercise for the American with Disabilities Act. [Have] people spend a week in a wheelchair or emulate some other disability. Wear a mask for a week and be blind. You will learn and then be guided around by someone who knows all the obstacles that they come across. I guess one thing I would have done is perhaps more exercises.

Jenna Davis and Brianna Kimbrel both endorsed a hands-on learning approach as they credited such an experience with personal learning outcomes. Davis referred to an understanding of diversity she gained from volunteering in the inner city:

When you say teach, don't put people in classrooms. Put them in a situation. Put them with people who are different. People have to have an experience and have to change. Just listening is not going to change them. I mean, yes, we all get changed when we go to college and hear about that stuff, but you need to experience something to change your attitude. I went and helped with a week-long vacation Bible school thing down in the inner city. And seeing those kids and seeing [that] they are kids just like all kids. They happen to all be Black. They are just little kids that need hugs as much as everybody else, and that was just so moving for me that there are these kids in the inner city who have maybe just one parent, and that just made me look at the inner city totally differently. Because I used to be like "Oh, those people", you know, "Come on, get a life" "Get a

job", "Get off welfare." And it's not until you experience something that you see they're people too.

Brianna Kimbrel also felt the need for more role play and intensive work. She relayed an example about an intense management course she had recently taken. "I probably learned more from that training than I've ever learned from any training that I've ever had," she said. " And I'm not saying that all training is to be that way, but I do know that what you learn language skills and that sort of thing, there's total immersion." I asked Kimbrel what the course she had taken was like. Participants spent all day together, she said, and would continually act out cases and scenarios for discussion. Kimbrel found this very effective in generating learning outcomes:

Maybe some instances that had happened in your area, how they could have been dealt with, what you should do, and maybe some role-playing. I think that role-playing makes people uncomfortable, and I know in that week of school, I would get uncomfortable. But the way that they did it after you got into it, because we were videotaped. We were watched from behind mirrors and everything and you start forgetting about all of that and kind of get into [it]-- and you forget, you become yourself.

Andy Massoli thought hands-on learning scenarios were the only way training could be effective:

You actually have to go out and do it, work as a team, on an actual project, but you can't play games. I think everything should be hands-on. I mean I think there's too many games played. Maybe using more real-life examples than some of the things that they give you. More films and movies. You see, some of these people (in his diversity training session), they sort of laughed at the films and the movies and then they went along with the games. Now, for me it was the other way around. I laughed at the games and took serious what was happening on the videos and all that

because that was the real. That really happened in the real world. The games don't mean anything. More needs to be done about that showing what really happens out there in the real world rather than numbers games.

Cindy Perte also said in order for training to be effective "you'd almost need to see, like, a role player, acting inappropriately in a diverse situation and inappropriately. And say what's wrong with this picture?" Jason Simons also proposed creating "awareness through other learning aids, role-playing or just fictionally make up something that would be different about them, somebody else in their group understand their differences and how they would first react and how they would cope with it." Regarding the training approach, Peter Dunster felt it was important to "make it fun and interesting, have them participate more, make [them] take more of an interest in it. " Kevin Monahan suggested the idea of a debate. "I would do mostly the same stuff", he said, "but just try to see from experiences and stuff like that. Maybe make it a little more argumentative. More like "let's dig in and dig out these personal thoughts" - something like that that would push them around a bit. Debates are fun. The time goes by quickly."

Kim Elberts also saw these problem-posing scenarios as generating greater involvement in the training:

It might be kind of interesting to have, if people were walking into class, have maybe a group of four to five people up there arguing a situation, just have them acting out or whatever. And I think because that draws people in. Maybe some loud voices, maybe some, you know, not outright slanderous things to say, like someone call people names, but maybe some innuendo that's going on. So a few people could open your minds, you would understand how I felt or maybe that kind of a thing. So they're coming in, the class is supposed to start, to start you could have each person milling around, and then the other people that are coming in and getting seated. And they're like up front or in the side or wherever or by

the coffee, and they're having a discussion and as this discussion gets going maybe it gets a little more heated and a little more heated and then the instructor comes in and breaks it up and the people go sit down or they leave or whatever, and from there the instructor could start in with, "Gosh, did you notice those people arguing? Did you catch any of that? You know, what did you see there that might make you think why you're here today to learn about diversity?" You might get some people involved.

Dobie Franken said that the training needed to have a more realistic focus in addition to being more "hand-on." When I asked him what he would change or add, he said:

More real-life examples. Sometimes it gets to be a little bit too technical, and it's so generic that you're not sure exactly what they meant, where it's so black and white that there's no tolerance at all when actually there is in real-life. Oh, I guess maybe in the training they could be -- have more specific instances, more role-playing. They do that in some, but I thought we could do it more.

I asked Franken to clarify what he meant by "more tolerance in real life." He said: Because it's easy to say the book says "none of this is allowed." Did that really fit that model or did that not fit that model? In real life you have to qualify everything; it doesn't fall into slots; this is that and it's not that; and with more role-playing it might show that. I think in role-playing you might show how negative incidences could be squelched at an early level and not turn into [incidents]. They (trainers) pretty much just say the guidelines.

What many of the comments about ways to improve the training indicated to me was that when people are approached with diversity, they immediately begin questioning not only the message of the training, but also what is expected of them. Not only is

diversity an uncomfortable subject for many people because it seems to be questioning personal values and beliefs, it also seems to create an unease in employees about what their employer expects of them. One solution to this is, as the respondents said, to make the reasons for the training, the "business case", more clear. If participants are able to understand how an understanding of diversity can benefit them and how it can improve the company, they are less likely to resist the training. Yet, when they learn this material- which some did say they enjoyed-they must also be brought to a comfort level where they do not feel threatened and can understand what their employer is expecting of them. Role play and hands-on scenarios seem not only to be more interesting to the majority of participants, they also seem to provide clear examples of the type of behavior or awareness Agribank is referring to in training and the type of behavior and attitudes they would like to see displayed by their employees.

Emergent Factors Related to Diversity at Agribank: Age and Gender

There were two ancillary themes that emerged in these interviews. Both concern elements of diversity, and are worth noting as they were mentioned by several respondents. The first issue is age.

Agribank is a company that has grown tremendously in the last 10 years. First, it has had a name change; it used to be called FarmTrust. Second, the company has, since the 1980s, branched into several new markets: real estate, brokering services and personal financial planning. There has also been a large growth in personnel. The respondents I spoke with who had been at Agribank for several years often talked about how their units have grown, some by as much as 300 % in the last ten years (Monica Pearsall) In addition to this business growth, as stated in the beginning of this chapter, approximately 70% of Agribank's work force has been at the company under three years. Several respondents stressed to me that this growth in personnel marks a huge change from when Agribank

was simply a local employer and often the employer "for life." Not only has turnover changed, it is also estimated that just under 50% of the work force is under 30. While no respondent directly stated these factors as negative, two people I spoke with were forthright about their belief that age discrimination is a diversity issue that some Agribank employees contend with. I sensed that generational conflict would soon become more of a diversity management issue at Agribank, as their growth and attraction of younger workers continues.

Monica Pearsall, who is in her late 40s, talked at length about age-related issues at Agribank. She outlined how age could affect Agribank's ability to serve its customers. For this reason, Pearsall felt age should have been addressed in the training as a diversity issue, but it was not: "They didn't consider age a diversity problem. Well, when I'm 48 years old and the third or fourth oldest in the department and then we drop down in the 30s there's a problem there. And it's in the culture is how they look at it."

Pearsall then referred to how diversity in age amongst employees was poorly emphasized in the training:

One of the things when they had shown the graphs of the age in the company, was how proud we should be that this is a young company and it's up and coming and new spirit and new time. And it was downgrading the experience of the 100 years that this company has been in existence. Things like "But we're young and we're going to go out and the leading edge and new, young, and vibrant." And, once again, I'm the oldest one in my group. And I said, "well, that's all very well and good, and I like the thought on that because it's creative and new ideas. But I said, I don't think you need to downplay the experience some of the other people bring." And [they] just didn't understand, well, then I said, "Okay. I'm a 63-year-old widow, who has a pension in this [company]. You're telling me that somebody who is 20 years old or 25 years old, who's been in the

insurance industry one to three years, is managing my pension? I don't feel real warm and fuzzy." And I said, "they don't have the investment background, life experience, even an economic trend of seeing what has happened and gone on, and yet we're young and coming." I said, "I wouldn't spread this around that you have all these young people running this company. If you were selling future financial products that my retirement is going to depend on, I don't want to be told that a 20-year-old is investing my money.

Stu Varson had a similar belief that age needed to be addressed in diversity training. He also felt that he has experienced some age discrimination at Agribank:

What a lot of the companies do -- and this is one of them here -- when you have someone, older person, that's really qualified, they don't make them feel comfortable. There are many things they could do to make an older person sort of share his knowledge and to be more valued than they are. I have a feeling here that a lot of the older people sort of feel that they're being pushed aside, and I don't think that necessarily has to be. I think there's a lot of information, a lot of value in some of the older people that could be used, and there should be a way to make the older people to want to share their information or share their thoughts.

Varson did add, however, that older workers can sometimes sabotage their careers because they are not willing to change, and that increasingly jobs go to younger workers who not only adapt quickly but can perform well. He says he has always adapted quickly to change and has always liked working with younger people, though most aging workers don't.

The second ancillary theme that emerged in the Agribank interviews pertains to gender. I observed in my interviews that the male respondents generally did not see diversity issues as important as the female respondents did. One could argue that this is

because they do not experience as much discrimination at Agribank or in society. They are, however, a minority at Agribank overall, though they represent the majority of managers and senior officers. This factor may also arise from the argument that men, according to some social scientists, are considered to be less "relational" than women, in that showing consideration and empathy towards others tends not to be as important to them as it is to women (Gilligan, 1982; Tannen, 1990). While some male respondents were very supportive of diversity-Kevin Monahan, Alex Fredon, Ben Adkins, in particular, most men that I interviewed were more dismissive of Agribank's diversity efforts than the female respondents were.

In addition to gauging responses from men, I also assessed what all respondents said about men as a group. Jason Simons, as previously discussed, talked about the reactions of the managers he worked with. He works in an area where all the managers are white and male where "a lot of people holding onto the old school things". Simons stated that the men in his area treated the diversity training as "a joke." Simons himself was not very positive about it:

[What] made me feel uncomfortable was the warm fuzzy feeling they tried to give us. You know, in the class was a little too much hands-on. It's just that warm fuzzy feeling they're trying to create inside you. I saw what they were trying to do, but I'm just a little more cold, I guess.

Simons went on to describe the course as covering sensitive terminology, which the men in the class reacted negatively to: "Some of them were like, oh, yeah, I can see that, but a couple of them were [saying]. 'you're sort of just crossing the line a little bit too far with some of the [political correctness].' They thought it was a very PC class, politically correct class- it was." Simons said there was even a male minority in the class who was making negative comments about diversity. Part of this reaction, Simons stated, comes from these men seeing these issues as common sense, but also, he added, "they don't see themselves really wanting to change."

Louis Schraft, a male upper-level manager, also explained how he has had to contend with negative reactions to diversity initiatives from his male employees:

One of the areas that I think has been tough for us [is] our field sales force, the men and women out there that sell our retirement plans to employers. It's about 97 percent male. I would say it's 97 percent fairly conservative macho-male. And there were some bumps along the way as we were taking these guys [through training]. It's mostly male and it's mostly Midwest. They probably had more trouble getting through diversity than our run-of-the-mill home-office employee.

I then asked how Schraft approached the training with these workers. He answered "I wasn't involved in that, but I heard that there were questions about ""you're forcing the morality on me"" and this sort of thing. And ""I'm having trouble appreciating the business case for it"" and things like that."

Monica Pearsall, who has been with the Agribank for fourteen years, connected her comments about men to management, as in her early years at the company, management was almost all male. She describes a past incident of a man in her area who had been having affairs with several co-workers when he was married. As it created an uncomfortable work situation, the women in her area approached senior management and asked them to intervene. "Senior management did nothing and then one of the people was promoted to a supervisory position and our comment was ""what a role model."" And so there was a lot of dissension in the ranks."

Devon Ayers, who is in senior management and has been at Agribank for twenty years, offered several negative impressions of men in leadership positions in the company. She was very critical of how changes in diversity management have not been made since or in conjunction with the training. She was also critical of the message some men in leadership positions were giving to employees:

It's got to come from the leadership because we have leaders. We have a women's forum for female [managers], and every year it comes up for discussion -- isn't this reverse discrimination because you don't have a man's forum? And we go through all of this stuff, and this gentleman showed up there and made an off-color remark and then defended it by saying, well, he's from another country and it's Canada, and [in his] country, it's not meant that same way. And three years later he's still defending it. But it's because he was the leadership, it was okay, and so this group of 80 women [managers] fell into the category of "should I support him or should I not support him?" because he's the leadership, you know, and all of that kind of stuff. I guess I have lost my naiveté along the way. We can't say an organization will decide something, it's the leadership. And then they've got to live with it and this leadership is not in my opinion moving what it's deciding. We have an executive vice president that is a very strong Southern Baptist, and we all know that, and we all know what that means, and so it's almost as bad as [the CEO] with his short-sleeved shirts and blue jeans. I mean he doesn't even want to conform to being a CEO of a major company. I mean it's these rugged individuals I'm referring to.

I saw evidence of what I believe Ayers was referring to in my interview with Richard Coulter. He is also a vice-president at Agribank and has been with the company for over 30 years. Coulter seemed to be aware, as Ayers pointed out, of what to say about diversity, but I sensed that he did not believe anything he said to me. Coulter gave very short, almost "canned" answers to all of my questions. Coulter was also extremely positive about diversity efforts at Agribank, and at no time gave me any mildly critical comment, which led me to believe he was not responding honestly or fully. When I asked him his reaction to going through the diversity training, he replied: "Agribank is very

conscious of diversity. They are doing everything they can. The intent is to run every employee [through training]. They did a very good job."

I then asked Coulter if he felt it was fair to require employees to attend training. Coulter said he sees the rationale for the diversity programs as perfectly valid:

The company requirement is a good thing. It's tied to the global marketplace. We're hiring people from other countries. It makes people aware that the work force might become more diverse, makes you think about some things you didn't before.

When asked how he has seen diversity concerns change in the three decades he has been at Agribank, Coulter was also very positive about this development. He said it was reasonable for Agribank to ask its people to change and that training was part of Agribank's mission to diversify its staff. While I should not be presumptuous, I had imagined that a manager of his generation might not be completely pleased with the new thrust on enhancing diversity and cultural sensitivity at the company. Even when I asked him, as I did all respondents, in what ways the training could be improved, Coulter said that there were none, as "it was all good." My sense was that he was not responding genuinely and that he was essentially giving me a pre-formulated response. I also felt by his reactions to the interview (he grew impatient with questioning; he refused to be taped and he threw his business card on the floor for me to pick up) that he was responding negatively to the subject matter and maybe to me personally. I wondered then why he had not declined to be interviewed.

The Matter of Management

As is born out in the literature, and was asserted in Chapter Two, it is the commitment to diversity made by management that makes a difference in how effective a diversity program can be at an organization. Management certainly emerged as a theme at

Agribank, in both positive and negative ways. Many of the people I interviewed were managers, though all but two said they had no responsibility for meeting or setting objectives regarding diversity. One person who did, Louis Schraft, said that he regularly met with his under-managers to discuss issues related to diversity. Ben Adkins, who manages 50 people, was positive about the global awareness diversity course offered for managers at Principal. He also was positive about the strategic benefits of cultural diversity in the corporation:

It's like the British when they started up operations research, during World War II when they put together this really diverse team, they had sociologists, Ph.D's in physics, mathematicians, and they said, solve this problem that our country is facing." So that they brought together all those different perspectives into this work group, and that's diversity at work. That's where the strengths of the team comes from. If I have ten people that are clones of each other, I might as well get one person and a machine that can replicate the work ten times, you know. I mean I need the diversity because that's what it's all about.

Hunter Sprague, a manager with 20 years at the company, told me that diversity was something he had to address in his job:

We do have diversity sort of objectives, not quotas. But I think all things being equal, if you were looking to promote a man or a woman that were both equal, you'd probably give it to the woman because it would demonstrate to other women that, hey, this is a company that does value women.

Over the course of the interviews, I began asking managers if they felt it was reasonable that they be evaluated on their efforts to meet diversity objectives. All said that in general it was. Many managers supported this opinion with statements similar to

Eric Linstrom's. I asked his opinion about having manager evaluations based partially on mentoring or retention of women and minorities. His response was:

I think you have to have some responsibility for that because you're going to have an impact on the ability to retain that person if they said that they want to stay with you or leave the company or go to work in a different area. So I think you do have some level of control. Though I think in terms of the weighting that we put on that, I think it needs to be relatively small, because there's a lot of factors that are outside of your control.

Linstrom also commented on his experience with managing diversity issues at Agribank. He stated that he had much more success at his previous employer, where he felt he was given more time to build relationships with employees and where more team development training was provided to managers:

I've had some different experiences with diversity issues and being a manager. I've been forced [to] as a manager, because as the manager, you're only as good as bringing that collective group together toward a common goal and not having any fragments in that group. And so you beat your head up against the wall trying to figure out ways to get people to work together and to appreciate each other. . . I think it probably has a lot to do with being involved in management with two organizations that you realize everybody that walks through the door that's going to work for you is going to be different. And it's your challenge to get them to work together as one body toward what their common goal is.

Fritz Newman had a more "grassroots" approach to the issue of managers galvanizing employees to work towards common goals, whereby managers receive information and come back and allow that information to then travel to the people they work with. The objective is accomplished in a person-to-person way :

The [lead] people go get the ideas, and then they sort of become, even unintentionally, they start to preach the faith to those around them one way or another. And it begins -- it works through the system, sort of take advantage of the company grapevine or the informal chain of command that various friends and all have.

Later in the conversation, he expounded on the philosophy behind this idea: True leadership doesn't consist of hurting people but by getting out in front and being the example that people follow. And that filters down from above too. [It] is going to trickle down again and if you see for example that the management -- either senior or middle or whatever is more open and has some diversity or at least respect for it, then that's going to start to affect people's behaviors either from the good of people following the leader in the good sense or people following the leader in the sense that well they're little toadies or whatever. But the message starts to sink in.

This comment is reminiscent of one of the sub-themes mentioned earlier, that one of the ways attitudes can be changed over time is through an individual's making behavioral changes. If an employee follow his/her manager's diversity directive, even without being ideologically committed to it, over time that attention and consideration might generate a change in attitude. In addition, that employee simply being required to work with diversity issues helps him/her realize that diversity is important to his/her job and is to be respected.

I also asked Newman if he felt this process would be helped by managers being evaluated in part by how they manage diversity-related issues. He responded:

I would think that should be part of the evaluation process. That's part of [it], whether it's managing or the changing work force, because no matter what enclave you're in, be it Belle Plaine, be it Burlington, Vermont, or whatever, the other work force is changing. Sooner or later you're going to

have to master this as a skill or you're going to be putting yourself out of the unit. You're not going to be the employer of choice for a lot of people or you're going to have friction inside, and that's not good for business, let alone the people who are involved. And so I think that that should be something of a measure. And so I think that the managers have to have that skill if only to handle the people who maybe look alike but aren't necessarily alike, because some of them may be very strong Baptists, and some of them may be atheists, and some of them may be Catholics or Jews or Muslims or whatever and so they (managers) need the skill.

Again, all of the managers in this sample agreed with being evaluated in part on their handling of diversity-related issues. Yet, this is not to say that all of these managers were always positive about the introduction of diversity into the company's strategic objectives. This line of questioning about management also generated discussion on the problems inherent in managers response to diversity at Agribank. Devon Ayers, who manages a sales force, commented on the negative responses from her fellow managers to the diversity initiatives at Agribank. Regarding the diversity training she went through, Ayers relayed that:

There were a group of senior executives that went through it together, and it was a joke, and later they joked. Those kinds of things really were very, very harmful. They made fun while they were there, and there other people other than themselves there, that they were very powerful, and they laughed about it, and one gentleman continues to talk about going through diversity. "I guess I'll have to go through it for the eighth time, blah, blah, blah", you know? Kind of "I didn't get it, but, gee, look where I am? I guess it's okay."

Jason Simons, who again went through training with several male managers, said that:

The group of people when I went through it [with], it was a lot of people holding onto the old school things, everybody in the classroom was white; everybody was not that serious, I think. The guys, most of them were male and very professional. Most of them were managerial officers or higher, and so they were like -- there were quite a few -- we had little exercises to do. There were comments made, more in a subtle sense than very deliberate, sort of look between the lines and sort of see what they were trying to [say]. It was more of a joke.

Later in the conversation Simons said that while the rationale for the training was made clear by management and the training staff, he "never really felt the 100 percent commitment behind diversity in the workplace." in his work unit.

Monica Pearsall also referred to negative reactions to diversity training from managers in her area. She felt "senior management out to be strapped down and made to listen" to a Jim Autry video concerning caring leadership. I had then questioned her about her perceptions of management in her division, and whether they had changed after going through diversity training. "They're being trained," she replied. "I don't think they're practicing what they preach." Because of the managerial attitude, Pearsall argued, her co-workers didn't want to attend diversity training as: "They thought it was useless. ""Management needs it, not us. "" You know it was supposed to be a time where they could raise issues, to get them out and clear the air and open the air. I don't think people -- even when we split them up into groups- felt comfortable." This was also due in part, Pearsall said, to the fact that employees were "afraid if they said the wrong thing in front of one their peers, one of their peers would take it somewhere."

Tashika Oanangu relayed a situation in which her previous manager at Agribank handled diversity poorly. She had been in the country two years and was still working on learning English. Her manager told her that to help in this process, she should no longer speak her native language, even at home. Oanangu said " I understand [he] wanted me to

concentrate on building my English, but it's something that I see a person as narrow-minded." She then told me a saying in her country for people like him: "Your knowledge is as big as a frog who sits in the bottom of the well looking up to the sky. And that's all the sky is. It's as big as the well's opening. But once you get out of the well, the sky is bigger." Not only did this occasion sour Oanangu's relationship with her manager, it arguably could have put Agribank at risk of being sued for being a hostile work environment.

Unlike Simons, Pearsall, and Oanangu, Mary Mercer was very positive about how her manager handles diversity:

I feel in my department my manager has bent over backwards particularly in my case. Since I am [disabled] and she knows my situation and knows exactly what my limitations are; therefore, she is very accommodating to the jobs that come in to make sure that I have adequate understanding of what materials and what knowledge I need to further my job.

In the next chapter, I'll return again to the theme of leadership's response to diversity, for it seems that this commitment, or the lack of it, is possibly the greatest factor affecting an organization's ability to enhance diversity and constituents' willingness to accommodate cultural differences. As I found in the literature, at Agribank, and eventually at Nova State University, without this commitment an organization can spend substantial financial and personnel resources on diversity without achieving significant positive outcomes.

Chapter 5

NOVA STATE UNIVERSITY

Nova State University is an academic institution located 40 miles north of the midwestern city of Belle Plaine. It has a broad range of undergraduate and graduate programs, with a particular emphasis on engineering and computer sciences. There are approximately 1600 faculty and approximately 6000 staff members and administrators. Of the approximately 24,000 students, roughly five percent are from an American minority group (African-American, Latino/a, Asian-American or Native American); International students represent 10.3 % of the total student population.

The majority of students who enroll at Nova State are in- state students, though the university does draw students from throughout the Midwest. Admissions counselors at Nova State, arguably like those at most academic institutions, actively recruit minority applicants. As the state itself is 97% white, Nova State has had to seek minority students from other states. To help assist minority students in making the transition to this environment, the university provides various avenues of support: minority student counselors, minority student liaisons to the various schools and a Minority Student Affairs office. There are also various cultural organizations on campus that provide support and community for particular groups of minority students (the Black Student Center, International Student Center, Women's Center, etc.) To help address the climate for diversity, in the Fall of 1996, Nova State's faculty senate passed a new diversity course requirement that will target Nova State's entire undergraduate student population. Each student, in order to receive a bachelors degree, must take six hours of course work in diversity, three in international diversity and three in a domestic subject area. A course or courses relating to diversity will be offered in every department, even those in the sciences and engineering. This requirement took effect this past Fall, 1997; thus I was not able to gauge its effect.

I selected Nova State as a site for this study in the Spring of 1995 after meeting Elizabeth Moarow, a staff member at Nova State. During our first conversation, Moarow told me about the efforts the university had undertaken regarding diversity, including the formation of a Diversity Council composed of faculty and staff from across the university. After subsequent discussions, I decided to focus the higher education study on Nova State and to use approximately 30 Council members as my purposive sample. I later expanded the sample to both Council members and others Nova State constituents involved in diversity efforts.¹

Elizabeth Moarow was the first interview in this sample, and my second interview was with Else McClennan, a benefits administrator. Moarow and McClennan had worked together on several climate surveys the Council had conducted, and McClennan had been active in the university's diversity efforts since their inception. One of the first efforts of the Council, McClennan informed me, was to train 40 facilitators to provide diversity training to faculty and staff throughout the university. In 1991, Nova State hired consultants from the Cultural Consortium, a consulting group based at the time in San Francisco, CA, to train the facilitators, who were all volunteers. Once the facilitators were trained, it was their responsibility to make their services available to interested parties on campus. According to McClennan, who was involved in working with both the Cultural Consortium and the trainers, the training efforts were not successful because there was not enough support provided for the facilitators. They were rarely asked to provide training and did not receive

¹Moarow assisted me in this process by providing the names, titles and contact numbers of Council members from the past three years. She also informed Council members that I would be contacting them. I then called every committee member on my list. Some were no longer at the university. Several were unable to meet with me due to time constraints. I began the interview process at Nova State in March, 1997. Once I had interviewed several members of the Diversity Council, I found there were other members of the Nova State community who were also involved in diversity efforts. I was also referred by Council members to several individuals who they felt would be able to contribute to my exploration of Nova State's diversity-related programs. I decided to cap this sample at 31 people, bringing my total dissertation sample to 60 people. I concluded interviewing at Nova State in May, 1997. As was the case at Agribank corporation, interviews ranged from 30 minutes to an hour and 30 minutes in length.

help from any office at Nova State in promoting their training programs. McClennan stated that "it never worked the way it was supposed to. Some people on the team were sabotaging the efforts. There was a difference in how well they were trained and the mission wasn't clear under Jaffari (the next university president)." I was disappointed to learn that the training had not continued, as training and diversity education is one of the central foci of this study. To note, the Training and Development office at Nova State has recently begun offering non-mandatory sessions entitled *Discussing Diversity*. Thus far, approximately 100 people have been through this program. To my knowledge, none of the original 40 facilitators are involved in this effort, and I was told by McClennan that the Cultural Consortium is no longer in business.

In 1992, the recently-appointed president of Nova State, John Jaffari, organized the Diversity Council, a committee of faculty and staff, who would meet to discuss diversity issues on campus and to compile suggestions for Jaffari to then include in the next year's strategic plan. One of the first projects of the Diversity Council was to examine the climate for diversity issues at Nova State. They began their research by developing, distributing and compiling results from questionnaires surveying the entire campus population (faculty, staff and students) about the climate for diversity issues. These surveys were conducted in the Fall of 1993. Several staff members and graduate assistants working with the Council also conducted 37 focus groups with individual faculty and staff subsets of the university's constituents, for example African-American faculty, white male senior faculty, gay and lesbian faculty and staff, etc. The particular questions and results from the focus groups are too vast to list here, though the Council identified several broad themes emerging from this data.

While much of the entire population at Nova State felt that diversity was good for the institution, most also agreed that Nova State needs to achieve more diversity in its population. Overall, most of the white respondents felt that the climate for diversity at Nova State had improved in the years prior to the survey. However, the campus climate was

rated "negative" by underrepresented groups: female faculty and graduate students, all ethnic minorities and international groups and the gay, lesbian and bisexual population.

The Diversity Council analyzed the surveys and focus groups and used the results as a basis for developing a set of recommendations to President Jaffari on how to improve the climate for diversity at Nova State. The set of recommendations deriving from the focus groups alone is 33 pages long. The final set of recommendations submitted by the Council to Jaffari has 11 items. The first four ask that task forces be appointed to address issues pertaining to how faculty, staff and students are treated on campus. The Council also asked that more formal initiatives should be developed between Nova State and the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Northpoint, where the university is located. The sixth, seventh and eighth recommendations involve training programs on diversity for various segments of the university population. The ninth recommendation urged for accountability for all levels of Nova State administrators for their diversity-related efforts, most notably their recruitment and retention of minority faculty, staff and students. The tenth item concerned Jaffari making his commitment to diversity more visible in several ways, and the last recommendation suggested Nova's hiring a "diversity ombudsperson" to assist Jaffari in maintaining communication with minority groups on campus and to manage diversity-related issues that may arise.

Ana Atamian, who was chair of the Diversity Council at the time the survey results were compiled, had personally suggested that Jaffari make a testimonial video to be shown to the entire Nova State population in which he declared his commitment to enhancing diversity at the university. Atamian developed the idea when she had seen a similar concept successfully employed at a major US corporation. In a letter responding to the Council's suggestions, Jaffari agreed to consider making the video. He also agreed to consider hiring a diversity ombudsperson and to all of the training and development workshops the Council suggested. Last, Jaffari concurred with the idea of forming a stronger diversity initiative with the city of Northpoint. To my knowledge, the other suggestions the Council

had made were rejected. In 1996, Jaffari authorized a follow-up climate survey to gauge the outcomes of the diversity initiatives of the past three years. The results of these surveys are not yet available.

Since the Council's suggestions for Jaffari were submitted in May of 1996, several changes have occurred within the Diversity Council. Ana Atamian is no longer the chair of the Council. The chair appointed after her, Edna Barry, retired this last academic year and the current chair, Fernando Williams, had not at the time of my research reconvened the committee. I was given the impression that by the Spring of 1997, the Council was all but officially disbanded.

As was the case at Agribank, when I began interviewing at Nova State, I first needed to establish a sense of the climate for diversity issues at this site. There were the climate surveys from 1993 to examine, but again, I wanted to get data from respondents through the method of self-reporting. As outlined in the previous chapter, the climate at Agribank had not seemed to respondents to have been fraught with tensions around diversity. Many were unclear as to why then Agribank was sending them through diversity training. When I began this set of interviews by asking respondents' sense of the climate at Nova State, I quickly realized I was examining a similarly confused, though far more complex, environment. Respondents at Nova State, most of whom were members of the Diversity Council, were unclear about the role the council was supposed to have in enhancing understanding for diversity. Diversity here was also about many more elements than it had been at Agribank. There were a few elements common to both environments: administrative commitment, attraction and retention of minorities and the interplay of attitudes, behavior and awareness. Yet diversity at Nova State also concerned interactions between faculty, between students, between faculty and students and between Nova State and the community of Northpoint. It was also about how students were treated in and outside the classroom, power relations between students, faculty and the administration, as well as other factors respondents discussed. One of the strongest examples of the

organizational complexity of diversity at Nova State, which is in essence a metaphor for it, is the Blakemore Hall controversy.

Dimensions of Climate: The Blakemore Hall Controversy

One issue that has done much to impact, even impede, the development of a positive climate for diversity at Nova State is the recent naming of a renovated building on campus in honor of Haddie Blakemore, the first woman to become a professor at the university. Through these interviews, I would find, as one respondent said, that this issue was "a place where a lot of considerations touch." The decision to name the building after Blakemore has reportedly been under discussion at the university for over a decade, but it was not until the fall of 1996 that the building, which houses administrative offices, was officially dedicated. The majority of the funds for renovating Blakemore Hall came from prominent members of the alumni association. When the final name decision was first announced to the public, there was a substantial protest to some of the remarks Blakemore made about immigrants and African Americans in various speeches and lectures she gave. Blakemore, who was at Nova State in the early decades of the twentieth century, traveled on national lecture circuits where she often spoke about her beliefs that immigrants and American minorities were a "danger to our government" (Blakemore*, 1894). . The following quote is taken from one of her speeches with this same title:

The government is menaced with a great danger . . . the danger lies in the votes possessed by the masses in the slums of the cities, and the ignorant foreign vote which was sought to be bought up by each party, to make political success . . . in the mining districts the danger has already reached this point -- miners are supplied with arms, watching with greedy eyes for the moment when they can get in their deadly work despoiling the wealth of this country. The hoodlums of Chicago gave us a forecast of their intent to

reproduce the horrors of the Old World when their numbers are sufficiently increased, and every ship load of foreigners brings them nearer their object .

.. There is but one way to avert the danger -- cut off the vote of the slums.

Many of Blakemore's speeches and writings expressed similar views. Blakemore had risen to national prominence in her lobbying efforts to win women the right to vote, during which she argued "women suffrage in the south would so vastly increase the white vote that it would guarantee white supremacy if it otherwise stood in danger of overthrow" (Blakemore*, 1919, 74-5).

When Blakemore's writings were examined, many students and faculty protested naming the building for someone who espoused such views. Others constituents of the university, including many alumni who helped fund the renovations, argued that the university should not judge people apart from their historical context, and that if they did, there wouldn't be buildings named after anyone. This debate raged on the campus for months, to the extent that it received some national attention when it was picked up by the Associated Press and written about in publications like *USA Today*, *The New York Times* and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. There were student and faculty protests, including a storming of the president's office for which several student leaders were suspended and stripped of their leadership positions in campus organizations. Several months after I concluded my interviews at Nova State, in September, 1997, a male graduate student began a hunger strike in an effort to get President Jaffari to meet with him to discuss renaming the building. Jaffari refused his request and the student quit the strike after he was hospitalized for dehydration.

In January, 1997, President Jaffari officially denied protesters' demands for the name change, though the movement to press for the change remains. The group is officially called the October 13th movement, though there is some confusion amongst respondents as to the origins of this name. Syra Baka, a member of the movement, stated that the name of the group was derived from a particular date:

October 13th is the day that the *Ashanti*, which is a newsletter that's published through the Black Student Coalition, was released, and that particular issue that talked about Haddie Blakemore and issues concerning racism and xenophobia. It was October 13th when that article was released on campus.

The Blakemore Hall controversy became an important touchstone in my research as it emerged in every interview I conducted. When I would ask a respondent about his/her impression of the climate for diversity issues at Nova State, Blakemore Hall would inevitably come up. There were many opinions as to whether people felt the name should be changed-some did, some didn't, some weren't sure-but many respondents commented on how they felt that Jaffari did not do all he could to honor the protests of the students and faculty. Nearly every respondent I spoke with felt the situation could have been handled differently than it was by the administration.

There were also disparate views that emerged in my interviews on whether or not Jaffari is truly committed to enhancing the climate for diversity Nova State. As much of the literature on diversity programs attests, efforts are only able to be successful when the management or administrator is completely and visibly committed to them. There is still skepticism as to whether Jaffari truly has this commitment. "I really think he's doing what he can. And despite what people say, I think he really cares about these [diversity] issues," said Norma Marsden, a member of the legal counsel team for Nova State. This sentiment was echoed by Douglas Hintz, of the University Publications office: "I think he's passionate about diversity. There is no doubt that he has put a lot of money into it." If money equals commitment, then this statement would appear to be true. Though I was unable to get a monetary figure on how much has been allocated for the implementation of the diversity segment of the strategic plan, there have been two "diversity hire" faculty positions allocated each for the 1996-1997 and the 1997-1998 academic years. The funds for this have come from the Provost's office and has been given to the ethnic/racial studies

departments (African-American, American Indian, and Latina/o Studies Programs). Even respondents who considered themselves critics of Jaffari's stance on diversity were supportive of these initiatives. There were other efforts as well. In 1997, the university published an information sheet entitled "How We're Enhancing Diversity" which lists 50 initiatives that Nova State has undertaken regarding diversity issues in each of the colleges. Many of the items concern funding for diversity-related programs and measures to provide administrative and financial support for minority students. Because of the vast number of items as well as my inability to properly shield the identity of the institution, this list is not reprinted either here or in the appendices.

Because of Jaffari's role in leading diversity initiatives, I asked respondents their impressions of Jaffari and his effectiveness as an administrator regarding the various aspects of diversity at Nova State. The ensuing discussions often centered around how he handled the naming of Blakemore Hall. The issue of Blakemore Hall then would become not only a metaphor for diversity at Nova State, but also a synecdoche for how Jaffari addresses diversity issues in his relationships with both the Diversity Council and various student groups. Jaffari had many detractors in this sample, but also numerous supporters who felt that his final decision to keep the name "Blakemore Hall" was legitimate and what was expected of him as the chief administrator. The members of the Council whom I spoke with often commented on how Jaffari had never made the exact role of the Diversity Council clear to its members and how he, unfairly, relied on the Council to give him direction on the Blakemore Hall issue. Douglas Hintz, while an overall supporter of Jaffari, felt that this reliance put the Council members in an awkward situation:

I think he was waiting for us to react to it, but the Council was reading what he was saying in the papers. He wasn't going to change the name. So I think a lot of people on the Council felt like there was nothing to react to. It was a done deal. And it was

probably not a good position to be in, to be questioning the President.

Gary Paciorek, a professor of math and computer science, stated that Jaffari's petition for guidance from the Council was outside the realm of their responsibilities:

I frankly have taken issue with [the fact that] he told us he'd give us direction, that the Council should not be a reactionary Council that we were setting long range goals, and we'd be looking at had we achieved the previous goals? and that sort of thing, and that he didn't want us reacting... And then this year, was very upset with us because we didn't take a stand on the Blakemore Hall issue. I thought wait a minute. I thought you said we weren't supposed to be a reactionary group. I'm afraid that the Council is used to say we have a council.

Like Paciorek, Edna Barry was also frustrated with the expectations Jaffari had about the Council's role in addressing the Blakemore Hall controversy. She felt it was indicative of how the Council's responsibilities needed to be clarified:

There is fuzziness in terms of what is the function of the Diversity Council. For example, when the Blakemore Hall situation got very heated, he wanted us to immediately schedule a session where he could speak. OK? And the Council felt that just having the president speak was not going to solve the problem, that we needed to have dialogue and forums and things like that . . . He was asking us to do certain things which were operational, and we were saying "President, you need to sit down and talk with these people and to try to work through this. And maybe it doesn't need to be in a public forum, but you need to sit down and talk." We recommended that he not reject the individuals coming and wanting to visit with him. We urged him, what did he have to lose to have a person who

could serve as a moderator? So we were giving him that kind of advice. So it's a little schizophrenic, what is the purpose of the Council?

There were several respondents who not only served on the Council when it was asked to address Blakemore Hall, they also worked in offices at the university where they were called upon to make a statement on the issue. Bill Lightfinger, Faculty Director of the Student Advocacy Board, was concerned about how his joint roles as an administrator and a student advocate limited his ability to express his opinion on the Blakemore controversy:

It puts this office in a tough position. We are about being advocates for students, but I am also the administrator of University policy. I've read the issue on Blakemore. I don't interpret her as being racist. You have that kind of side, and then you get the other side saying: "Nu-uh. We read the opposite. And [students say] "you're the student advocacy board, you need to tell us what we can do. You need to support us in the name change." I can't do that. I can't go tell the president: "Hey, you're wrong, man. Change the name of the building!" And that's one of the biggest dilemmas in an office like this, it's such a fine line.

Beverly Jackson, a Financial Aid administrator who has worked as a minority student liaison, like Bill Lightfinger, indicated that the Blakemore Hall controversy straddled the division between her personal and professional life, and that as a member of a cultural minority, it was assumed she would take a particular position:

I think for the Blakemore Hall controversy, people are measuring a time in history now that is inappropriate. We can't go back and know what she was or what the political realities were. But we do know what she has accomplished in terms of the suffrage movement. I was approached by numerous people about the first week I was here, and encouraged to express my thoughts in regard to this outrageous woman. My professional

opinion is always going to be the official position of the institution. My personal opinion you will never hear. Whether it's consistent with what I need to be professionally or not, you will never hear my personal opinion. But I was mad. I couldn't express that I was mad. I was mad because I was being asked to associate with an issue that no one had bothered to get my views on. It was assumed that because I was a minority woman, I'd understand oppression, and slavery, and all of the things that allegedly Blakemore had promoted. But nobody had ever asked my views.

Enid Canton, who is a member of both the Diversity Council and the Women's Forum at Nova State, stated that the Forum has not taken an official position on Blakemore Hall:

And that reflects the fact that there are genuine divisions among members of the Forum. So anything I have to say represents my own version of the truth. I think it was very badly chosen by the adults and by adults I mean faculty and staff who have been quietly encouraging what's called the October 13th movement. [They] have done those students no service. And I do think that Hattie Blakemore was flawed, like all of us grew up. I also think there's a little sexism in all of this.

I then asked Canton to clarify in which way this protest was sexist. She said that buildings who were named for men whose expressed views that were racist or sexist were not being critiqued. She continued by saying "The students' answer to that is that this is the only building that has been named for while they were here. That doesn't make a very strong argument."

Through this analysis of how Jaffari viewed the Council and how some Council members viewed their often conflicting roles regarding the controversy, one can see how this issue brings up some existing tensions around diversity at Nova State. These issues beg clarification. What is the real role of the Council? Does

Jaffari expect them to be advisory or regulatory? Is it in place, as Paciorek said, just to say there is a Council? While the persona and policies of Jaffari would emerge in many contexts, and will be explored in greater depth later in this chapter, there is another element of Blakemore Hall that involves the administrative expressions of power within the institution over how diversity is understood and accepted. This is the role of and reaction to the October 13th movement.

Douglas Hintz's, Jerry Duke's and Ray Gorman's comments represent the strongest views of those critical of the movement and its demands for the name change. Hintz seemed to believe that the perceived futility of this demand alone warrants its demise:

I've queried some of my Black students and some of them will say they've got a point and some of them will say: "Look, I'm just here to get my degree." I think they're up against a dead end. And instead of trying to work with the issue, or around the issue, they have a very set mind-set. Nothing short of changing the name of Blakemore Hall will do. And as a member of this Council, I've read some of her stuff. I can see how they're interpreting that, but I can also see how her comments can be interpreted in an entirely non-racist way, particularly the one chapter where she's sort of addressing: These are your criticisms to giving women the right to vote. This is how you could respond to them. And that's how she responded to them. I think you could put that in the context of, if you're dealing with a racist, this is how you answer a racist.

Ray Gorman and Jerry Duke both saw the activities of the October 13th movement as somewhat of a return to a past form of agitation that would eventually blow over. Jerry Duke expressed disdain for the emotional tenor of this and other student movements:

My longer term experience tells me that the solution to that is they're eventually going away. And they do. We've had other uprisings of one

kind or another, whether it's SDS people back in the '70s or other things that [it] seems like they'll just tear us apart. We waited. We've had problems with African-Americans, [I've] forgotten even what they represented now. But I know that one of my colleagues at that point was vice-president of student affairs and [there was] a little inappropriate handling by some staff people in the president's office, they were trying to barge in there, and this fellow got in the middle and got beat on the head with a lead pipe so he thought the world was coming to an end. But it wasn't very long and these folks graduated or ran away. Not that that's the way to solve the problems, but I'm just trying to point out that sometimes there are individuals who cannot be placated, except by waiting long. Then when they're gone, then you can live with the issues in a more rational way, with no extreme emotional rhetoric. [The] October 13th group met with the members of the Council. There was little in the way of presentation of information. It was more in the way of ranting. And I felt very sorry for the president. What could he do?

Ray Gorman characterized the October 13th movement as irrational:

They said: "You just shouldn't name a building on campus for somebody who", perhaps, "was racist." So they're unhappy. And most of the alumni and I support the president and where he's at. You can't take this one or two comments out of context of the era that she was in and the time that she was in. You have to understand what she was trying to do. And so he has not backed off. And so they, a subset of students, and faculty, are forming a legion, calling themselves, I don't know, 13th movement, October 13th Movement, and saying: "We will not give up. We'll keep after you forever until you change that name." And they start doing civil disobedience on campus. That's their right, they can do it. The only problem I have is, if

you knowingly break the law, you must knowingly take the consequences. And they haven't been willing to do that yet. They want to knowingly break the law, but they want us to say: "Well, you're different, so you can go ahead and break the law and not take the penalty." And the university was chastising the vice-president who arm-waved over them and reduced their sentence, and he said: "Well, this is the only way to bring this to a peaceful closure." I said: "No! We fought the students in the '60s that had the sit-ins." We did all that, and all you're doing is teaching them that what they're doing gets results. And I just don't think it was handling it the right way. We'll find out five years from now, two years from now. If the group silently sits back, then it's OK. But I don't think it will. I think it will continue to fight. It'll continue to use civil disobedience on campus to call attention to their cause. And that is a small group, they'd like you to think there are hundreds of them, but if you ask them "let's put the names of everybody in this group right here and you can stand up and be counted," I bet they couldn't get 50 names.

Hintz, Duke and Gorman all seemed to characterize the October 13th movement as not only immovable, but also groundless. I was struck by how they seemed to have little interest in trying to understand the movement's perspective, or respect for their commitment to their protest. While I did not say this to them during our interviews, I felt somewhat angered by their reactions, as I consider the willingness of people to protest to be the strongest reason for social change taking place. Gorman said that while it is students' right to protest, he also didn't take them seriously. Both he and Duke thought the movement would "go away." Gary Paciorek, while far more understanding of the movement's sentiments, also considered them to be too entrenched in their position:

I can understand how a black person could put themselves in the place of their grandfather or grandmother and say, "That person got lynched because people like her were saying this, that and the other." I can understand how it would be a very emotional issue. However, I think those students have gotten themselves to the place where we can't have any compromise. I'd like to see the compromise be: "Well, we named it Blakemore Hall, but here's what we're going to do with things that you approve of. We're putting so many dollars into this, or minority scholarships, or the black cultural center's been renovated, or whatever it is that might be something that you would approve of." But they've put themselves in the place, their stated position was: "Rename Blakemore Hall. That's what we want." And Jaffari, on his part, said, "Well, what else would you [want]?" "Where is our compromise?" And they said, "No compromise! Her name comes off." Well, on the other hand, Jaffari says, "We will not rename Blakemore Hall." Now, what do you do? You've got a group of students with no power, mad at the people with power, and both of them saying: "There is no compromise!" I'd like to see some compromise, but the only way you get there is by communicating. Students want to have the dialogue with the president - they asked for that a number of times - but for what I see as very good reasons, he won't meet with them. I think Jaffari is too well-versed, too intelligent, too well-prepared for a group of students to debate with him. And I think the students see that. They see themselves as going to an open forum, talking to him and saying, "Well, why can't we do this?" And he'll have what sound like very logical, plausible reasons and he'll dominate the conversation, and he'll point out what's wrong with their point of view. And he'll win the debate. Whereas the students would like to have a mediator draw some common ground and make it a dialogue. He

refused to do that with a mediator. His point of view is: "I don't need a mediator to come between you and me. We should come together and talk." It sounds very open, and "my door is always open, come on in for a chat." But I can understand, because of his personality, that the students see him as autocratic, as opposed to having a dialogue. I think there's a couple of things in that, that whole Blakemore Hall issue. I wish the students would leave some ground for compromising and I wish Jaffari would say: "OK, we'll [talk]." I don't understand what he's holding on to other than control. And if it's just to be in control of the person, that's being in control for the wrong reasons.

There was a lot for me to "digest" in Paciorek's comments, as there were in the comments of many respondents who talked about Blakemore Hall. Most of these comments revealed how complex this issue alone is for this organization. Not only did respondents criticize both the October 13th movement and Jaffari, there were also people who found fault with the faculty who support the student protests. Enid Canton was critical of both the movement and the faculty who "agitated" them. While Beverly Jackson seemed more understanding of the movement's activities to change conditions on campus than the previous respondents, she was opposed to what she saw as the manipulative involvement of faculty and staff:

I do think that Blakemore is one of those issues that is supported by students and one that's agitated by students. And I can forgive that, because that's what students are supposed to be- agitating themselves for us to think about something. I was in California in the '70s -- that's where I got my undergraduate and graduate degrees -- so if there's anything I know about, it's agitation. But when you have faculty and staff who should be guiding students to educate themselves rather than using students to get to your end is disgusting to me. And that's what I see, when I listen to some

of the faculty or staff talk. It's clear that they had an agenda, and [said] "we need to use the students too."

I then asked Jackson why faculty and staff felt the need to, in her opinion, use students to their own end. She answered that "it was more that management, the administration of the institution, would listen to students before they'd listen to faculty and staff. So let's make sure the students are raising this-communicate our concerns to the administration and so on. That's essentially a vicious circle."

I also found this belief, which the faculty and staff supporting the movement may or may not have had, to be ironic, as it didn't appear that the administration had listened to students either. Min Dong, the only student who served on the Diversity Council, like Jackson, ideologically supported the October 13th movement's protest. She had, however, grown cynical about whether a protest against the Blakemore Hall could have any effect:

It's this waste of time, waste of energy that could be focused on something that's going to actually happen. The Blakemore issue, I kinda believed in it for a moment. I understand their anger. But it's wasted. They're wasting their time because it was planned way in advance. And people donated money in her name. I think it's a good movement, though. But we should focus in on something else. Not focus on Blakemore Hall.

Bill Lightfinger would make the specific argument that I am in exploring this theme, that the controversy over Blakemore stands in for much of the overall problems with diversity at Nova State. Regarding Blakemore Hall, Lightfinger said:

I think we need to look at and see this is but a symptom of the rest of this issue of climate. The issue that we can't really get a handle on. This is but a flashpoint of this. So one of the things that I think we are not doing well is communicating that to the students. I think that one of the things with the student groups, October 13th in particular, they feel that they have the power, and that they are the ones in power, in that we don't communicate

well enough with them in that, in order to make any change, we have to sit down with the students and discuss that change before a change is made.

Howard Berkshire was perhaps the one of the more "even-handed" of the respondents concerning the Blakemore Hall issue. Like Paciorek and others, he appeared to have carefully considered the different factions of the controversy. Berkshire also seemed to be able to sympathize with the range of positions of the various constituencies, and like Lightfinger, articulate the Blakemore Hall controversy as a metaphor for all the "dilemmas of diversity" evident at Nova State and other universities:

It's a place where a lot of considerations touch. As you learn more about it, you find that you are able to speak out of different sides of your mouth.

And that's true on anything, I think, when we're dealing with diversity. As you understand the other more, you can make considerations to things you hadn't thought about, or didn't think were important take on new meaning when you see it through the eyes of somebody else. So for example a secretary might say that the movement based on race ends up being kind of anti-female. Because Blakemore is held up as being, at least locally, because of her work for suffrage for women, as working for feminist causes. On the other hand, black faculty, staff, students, whether they're male or female, see it as a suppression sort of thing. From their point of view, she didn't need to put down blacks to gain suffrage for women.

President Jaffari read all the material there was on Blakemore in the library, and he shared that with our Council, and said that in his opinion she wasn't racist. But said some things that were racist that were very minor in terms of the total amount of what she had written or spoken. And that if those that saw this as a racial issue do homework and do more reading, they may not be as offended by it. I think that from problems that arise you can grow.

And this is where I'd like to think the Diversity Council and President

Jaffari, and maybe he's looking for our help on this - I know he is - but how much influence we'll have on him I don't know, but we've had some discussions that perhaps a lot of halls, a lot of buildings on a lot of campuses, should be renamed because the heroes after whom they're named ended up in ill repute on some issue later.

One of Berkshire's points expressed in this quote, namely how the university can use this controversy as a learning experience, would be shared by Priscilla Morehouse, who had been a student at Nova State in the 1980s. Like Lightfinger and Berkshire, she was concerned about how the university could now develop a better institutional process for discussing different perspectives:

I tend to contextualize things for their time. And I've read a number of quotes that Hattie Blakemore has made which could be deemed as racist and insensitive. And I think for the 95% of the population that was white at that time you could find some thinking at that level as part of their psychological profile. The disappointing thing about Blakemore, the whole Blakemore struggle, is not so much that Blakemore is a racist or not, it's that we don't have a process, or we haven't instituted a process, whereby people can really sit down and try to objectively talk about her, and whether she was racist or not. I think that's a moot question at this point because there's nothing we can do about it. But what we can do is go beyond that and say what does her experience, or her position on different issues, suggest to us about how we need to interact today? To me that's the conversation. Yes. It doesn't do us any good to determine if she was a racist or not. I don't think so. Because I don't see it in any way as improving dialogue between us. Some people might say it's a necessary dialogue because you don't want to be naming buildings after her. But I don't know anyone you could name something after that people wouldn't have an issue with. I think the larger

issue is again "What is the lesson here? What is to be learned? What is it that offended you the most?" And I think what offended people the most was the process by which the building was named, people felt like it represented a continual disengagement of minorities in discussions of sensitivity. And also I think the other issue is then how do we evolve? How do we keep this kind of conflict from evolving again? And the only way we do that is to sit down and talk about and to become intelligent about the American experience so that we can have some degree of sensitivity in place when people are trying to pay tribute to someone else in our society.

The issues of sensitivity to difference and a disengagement of minorities would also emerge in other interviews about the climate for diversity at Nova State. The university contends with the same lack of "visible" cultural diversity that Agribank does. Climate is evidenced not only in the diversity-related incidents on campus, but also is a function of geography and demography. This theme revolves around the "dearth of diversity" in the state population that was discussed in the previous chapter. Yet at Nova State, the issue of climate would also be exemplified in how the university and the community of Northpoint attempt to accommodate the diversity they are trying to import.

Dimensions of Climate: Geography and Demography

As was indicated by the corporate respondents in Chapter Four, the lack of diversity in the state affects how well an institution is able to "diversify" itself. Not only does Northpoint and the university struggle with the simple lack of a culturally diverse population, they seem to also contend with the alienation of minority populations more than Agribank in the city of Belle Plaine. One of the comments made by Hugo Sanchez, a professor of Latin American studies, was, however, reminiscent of what Stu Varson at Agribank corporation had said:

We're in a strange part of the world where there just isn't a lot of diversity to begin with, and I don't know how you make Northpoint a more friendly place. I don't know how that works. I think it works slowly, over a long period of time, educating people.

Referring to the African-American student experience, Byron Kindle, the Assistant Provost for Continuing Education, said "if you walk across this campus, you walk into town, if you're an African-American, you stick out. There's no way you can blend in and not feel like you're always on display."

Syra Baka, an African-American literature professor who has lived in several countries and states within the US, repeated Kindle's observations:

It has been the most difficult place I've ever lived in. And I know that it's just going to take a lot longer here. I will never forget when I first came here, and I finally realized that people did stare more here. It's like anybody who looks different somehow, just [is] seen as different. It's people who don't know how to deal with that quite well, so they stare.

Jerry Duke, the Assistant Dean of the Law School, while essentially echoing the sentiments of Baka, also indicated that the lack of diversity can actually make people more rather than less accepting of it:

The primary problem is that we have a population base that doesn't reflect a great diversity. And I'm not sure how that can be changed, or even if it ought to be changed. I also think some of the folks come in from what amounts to very homogeneous societies, are probably *more* open to diversity than some people who have come from societies in which there is fractionation of races and different kinds of ethnicities. Some of them are very open-minded folks that come from the smaller towns and so on around the state. Where they never really knew except one or two African-

Americans, perhaps. As opposed to someone who grew up in Belle Plaine, or Waterloo, or Chicago.

Duke's comment certainly goes far to assert that the dearth of diversity in the state is not necessarily a barrier for enhancing diversity, that this lack of exposure can denote a lack of prejudice. But what this assumes is that those minorities who come here will be willing to "teach" the majority population about difference. This is arguably an uncomfortable process and is not a role that cultural minorities would necessarily embrace. This theme of education through exposure to difference would emerge more in these interviews, namely the idea that even though there is little diversity in the state, and there are questions about the attitudes of the indigenous population to cultural minorities, the people of the state need to be prepared for the increasing diversity of the larger population outside their borders. Ray Gorman, a psychology professor, saw diversity as a necessary broadening experience for the state population:

We're going to be more global whether we want to be or not. [The state] cannot continue to be the food basket of the nation -- period. Our youth are not gonna just go back to the farm. Our youth are not going to just stay in [the state]. Look at the demographers. That's what they tell you. When I was a high school principal in [the state], Dad would have a 500 acre farm and there'd be four kids, but only one of them would come home to run the farm. Where'd the other three go? They went off someplace. The point is that someplace takes them into experiences and places you've gotta get'em ready for. And I don't know if it's because we're becoming global or not, but diversity is not a choice anymore. It's just something we have to do.

Byron Kindle, like other respondents, felt that increasing the numbers of minority students and faculty would help educate the majority population. Yet, it is also the psychological climate for people of color, he asserted, that keeps them from staying at the university:

The majority of people want to be recognized for their accomplishments. They don't want to be recognized because of the fact that somebody flipped a coin and they were born Black instead of White. And that's the biggest problem. We just need more. The white 19-year-old Lutheran boy and girl out of [the state] doesn't recognize [that]. It's not that they're insensitive, it's just that they've never . . . they don't recognize diversity . So what we need to deal with is the white population.

It is going to depend on getting greater numbers of minorities, many respondents said, to make a difference in how diversity is experienced at Nova State. When these numbers hit a saturation point, it was implied, then the majority population would be better able to "deal with" diversity. But it is not enough simply to get numbers, I would find, to change the climate for diversity, there is also a need to address what the climate is like for minorities when they get to Nova State. Baka elaborated on this point during our interview:

I think that the changes that Nova State can make, at this point, are regarding the physical and once they get to that point that possibly, and hopefully, then they can really start to make changes as far as what peoples' attitudes are. Right now, you hear about a student saying: "We don't need African-American studies" Right now, you hear students saying: "Why are they bringing all these black students here?" "Why?" And it's decreased since I've been here. When I first came here, it was almost 900, like 800 and something, and now it's like 500-600 African-American students. And yet, the idea from many European-American students here is that there are so many. There are just so many. Now, the total population is over 24,000 students. But there are just so many. And so how do you change that kind of attitude? If you bring even more, there's gonna be even more. They're

going to think: "Now they've really gone way out." And so, the idea that they think there's so many already, and why are they getting more?

Certainly as we talk more and more about affirmative action, that makes an insight. People here really need to be educated on that. And I don't mean just students, I mean all the way up. Because I've heard deans say, you know, "Well, we have to be careful. We can't bring in all these faculty of color because, you know, the other faculty are not going to be receptive to that. We have to be careful about how we do that." And that is a concern. That doesn't mean that they shouldn't be doing it, and that doesn't mean that they shouldn't be educating the faculty in the departments, but they will be concerned if all of a sudden they see too many.

Bill Lightfinger also discussed this dilemma and how it leads to issues of retention of minorities.

Retention, if you look at the data has been a constant problem for a Midwestern university, predominantly white university, in a community that's predominantly white, a state that's definitely predominantly white. The issue of climate always is a problem for a lot of minority students. When you look at - I wish I had the numbers off the top of my head, and I don't - the number of minority students coming to Nova State in any given year, a majority of them are from out of state. I mean, [this state], just does not have a pool of minority students. So then, therein brings some different need for support, for systems, different types of initiatives, both in the academic and social intervention issues.

Dimensions of Climate: How It's Like the Weather

Baka's and Lightfinger's comments illustrated how complex the matter of changing attitudes for changing climate can be. This is a problem I will address here and also later in the chapter when I work with respondents suggestions for how to enhance diversity and improve attitudes at Nova state. Another dimension of climate that is essential to a discussion of bringing more minorities into the university, that Baka referred to, is what efforts are made to retain them. Camilla Hastings, the Director of the Nova State Foundation for Women in Education and a professor of education, felt this retention is an issue that Nova State needs to focus more on:

It's a land grant institution [so] it's really making the affirmative action effort. There's money and effort for recruitment. But once you get the people here, once you have a diverse environment of people, they don't know what to do with them. They immediately put up barriers, all these rules, so the reality of having a diverse environment [isn't there].

This experience was confirmed by the comments of Min Dong, an Asian-American graduate student who grew up in Belle Plaine.

What I hear tons and tons of times, 300 times is: The only reason I'm here is because they paid me to come here. So they got like, either a good scholarship or that kind of thing. And people who are from [the state], like myself, we're used to this. We don't even realize. I won't say you don't realize, but it's not as offensive because we've been -- like, I went to Northpoint Schools and so, we're just used to being a minority. We're just used to being treated in different ways. But other people who are from, like, bigger cities, where there is like a bigger.[minority population] they will leave if they don't like it here. They usually drop out because their financial problems or something. Or the stress. The culture is ,they say, unfriendly.

But they just leave. And go back home or whatever. Or go to some other school.

Priscilla Morehouse, the Director of Peer Advocacy and an instructor in the African-American studies program, stated that it is not simply a matter of attraction, or "getting the numbers" of minorities to Iowa State, but also addressing the psychological limitations of the existing climate:

Once you get people here, what are you going to do to keep them here, make Nova State work for them? Let's face it, Northpoint is not a cultural Mecca in any way. And so when you come here, you really have to be sure that this is where you want to be because there are just so many things that this community is not going to give to you. And there are so many things that you are not going to get at this university to help sustain you as a person. And so then one has to be creative about how you are going to survive and that's where some of the questions about retention comes in. What kind of things in addition to intellectual and scholarly incentives are people going to get to be encouraged to stay here? So getting the people to come here is an obstacle, getting them to stay here is even a greater obstacle.

Bill Lightfinger, who often advises students of color in their decision to leave or remain at the university, also commented on how while many majority students have said the campus climate for diversity had improved, the minority students he works with have said it is worse than it used to be. Lightfinger also talked about how students experience the climate for diversity:

The climate, from my perspective, is when I have a student come in and say "In that class, they make these kinds of comments" That continues. You overhear those kinds of comments in the residence halls, in the line eating, or at the table. Climate is like the weather; I think that's why you call it climate. Because you can kind of sense what it's going to be, but you can't control it or manipulate it. You understand that it's there and you try to

adjust to it or adapt to it. And that's what our students continue saying.

"Why should we always be the ones who have to adapt?" Well, again, you come to Nova State and it's 6.9-7% ethnic minority and about 10% international students and the rest is white. [Students say] "I know a friend of mine who came here five years ago and there used to be 150 minority scholarships, now you guys only have 50." That's climate. And then when you try to explain the process of how two to three years ago, there was an over-awarding of minority scholarships, so basically the bank is broke. So we really need to look at a realistic level and make sure that those dollars are coming in to provide that amount of scholarship. But again the[opinion] is "You're cutting back." So those are issues of climate.

Beverly Jackson, a financial aid administrator who like Baka and Morehouse is a woman of color, felt that part of Nova State's inability to retain minorities is its own attitude towards the issue:

Northpoint is just a high class ghetto . . . the majority population -- I recognize that they want to know more about what's expected of them. How do I, as a majority member, include you? How do I understand you, what service do you need from me? But it's not unreasonable to say: "That service isn't available in Northpoint. It's available in Belle Plaine That population is accessible in Belle Plaine, but it's not accessible here in Northpoint. Or, if you're in the Belle Plaine area, well, we can access it through..." And there are ways to get people what they need. But instead it's kind of a continuous apology for not being able to meet all those needs.

Jackson's comments point out a problematic approach that the majority population may have towards climate, in that by their "continuous apology" they refuse to be honest with themselves about the limitations of the geographical and demographical surroundings. Yet her comment indicates that there are members of the majority population at Nova state

and in Northpoint who truly are trying to enhance the climate for diversity, not only in "visible" ways, but also in how minorities are treated and what their experiences at Nova State are like. Discussions of climate, both "visible" and perceived, naturally lead to the question of whether the climate for diversity has improved. Bill Lightfinger would say that in his preliminary examination of the 1996 climate survey results (which are not yet available) that overall, students say that the climate for diversity has improved. Yet when the minority student responses are examined, Lightfinger said, they indicate that it has not improved in the past three years, and in fact the climate may be worse for minority populations on campus.

The Convergence of Climate and Attitude: Have any Borders been Crossed?

Several respondents in my study said specifically that the climate for diversity improved since a decade before. Hugo Sanchez, who is gay, felt the atmosphere for lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and transsexual (LGBT) students and faculty was better than it had been when he came to Nova State twenty years ago. Gary Paciorek, a professor of math and computer sciences and Enid Canton, Director of Health Care Studies, had also been at Nova State for two or more decades. They both offered examples of how Nova State used to be. Enid Canton has been at Nova State for almost forty years. When she came to the campus, there were very few women faculty members. Women faculty members were "ghettoized" in certain departments (namely English and Nursing) and both they and women students were required to wear dresses or skirts in the classroom. There were also very few minorities at the university; nearly all were international students. Canton recalled the reactions of the community at that time:

I can remember in Northpoint when the landlord of the fairly new apartment area we lived in simply would not rent to either African-Americans, or most

internationals. Lot of prejudice. He was pretty wrong. I don't think you hear expressions like "camel jockey" anymore.²

Paciorek had moved to Northpoint from New York City in the 1960s, and described his shock at how isolated Northpoint was from what was going on in the rest of the country:

This was a very interesting transition for me. I was married and had one small child and another on the way. When I was an undergrad student, I was an adult student, I had been in the service . It was the late '60s, early '70s. People were protesting and all sorts of things. Leaving the campus of New York [University], I felt like I was the most conservative person on campus and we drove across the country and we arrived at Nova State, I felt like I was the most liberal person on campus. You could [see] it by just looking around the campus. I had long hair. I had a beard. In New York, I looked fairly shaven. I was a married man with kids. I was Mr. Establishment. And then I came out here and I looked around and I had the longest hair. And it wasn't very long.

While Paciorek stated that the climate had changed since this time, he did not consider it to be substantially improved for minorities:

People try to be politically correct, if not socially correct. I think for black people it's as bad as it was 20 years ago. I think my generation is less that way than my father's was. I think my kids' generation is much better than ours. Things have improved. But I still think your 20-year-old college students, the white population, has an "us" and "them" attitude. I still hear white people talk about them- "the jocks, football players." Whatever those

² To note, at the time of this writing, a case has been settled in the state courts against a landlord who refused to rent to African-Americans. On January 15, 1998, the Belle Plaine Sentinel* announced that Eric Smithe was ordered to pay three African-American plaintiffs \$25,000 for racial discrimination and violations of the federal fair housing act (Carothers-Kay, 1998, p. 1M).

things are that they say. "Here's a black guy, what position could he play? But why are they on campus if he can't play ball?" That kind of thing. And so you hear that attitude. If they have that attitude, you know the black people can sense that from their interactions.

Morehouse, who received her undergraduate degree from Nova State, also referred to the typification of black men as athletes and the juxtaposition of an admiration for them with an objectification of and simultaneous disinterest in their culture:

What interests me, what is so peculiar about all of this is that the same students who go to [the Nova State Sports Center] and cheer for a basketball team, football team, that is half black, are the same students who will fight you to death, or the administration to death, who force them to take a diversity class. You can go cheer for that black athlete, but you don't want to learn anything about his culture. You just want to show up, cheer for him. So the problems in our society are due to ignorance but also there's a deep psychology in this society that is ingrained into people's psyche, that continues to be class and race oriented, that makes it possible for people to cheer for athletes and go to concerts and not learn about their culture. Because in your mind you're OK, you have no problem with African-Americans or minorities because you go to the game and you cheer for them, or you go to the movies and you watch them, or you go to the concert and you say you believe in diversity.

It is this objectification then that allows the majority population to feel that it has changed its attitudes towards diversity. Seeing "visible" diversity among them makes them possibly consider themselves to have come "a long way" in their attitudinal development

vis-a-vis diversity. They likely see themselves as having sufficiently engaged with cultural difference, as again, Bill Lightfinger stated that the 1996 climate surveys indicate that the majority population of students consider the climate for diversity to have improved in the last three years.

There were several other respondents, in addition to Lightfinger, Paciorek and Morehouse, who had also been at Nova State a long time who did not see the climate as having significantly improved. Margy Kaufman, a professor of women's studies who moved to Northpoint from Santa Fe, New Mexico, was pessimistic about any positive change having occurred in her 10 years at Nova State:

I'm not sure that the institution has changed that much, either for better or worse, in the time that I've been here. It is clear that there are a lot of students coming into this campus who are very, very ignorant of interacting with anyone who's even slightly different from themselves. A lot of students and staff have been pretty insulated from the rest of the world. And they really are not given much in the way of experiences that might really cause them to challenge that.

Lawton Elders, an African American alumni development director who was a student at Nova State in the 1960s said:

There have been some things that have changed, but it hasn't changed significantly since the time I was a student. It's still in here. I think we keep talking about we want to do these things. But every presidential administration I've seen as a student and graduate student, and employee says the same old thing. That's why it stays basically status quo. It hasn't really changed. You have a few significant changes every now and then, but the face of the institution hasn't changed very much since the time I came here as a student. It really hasn't. We've seen some growth, we've

seen some positions, we've seen some efforts. But we never, ever made it really work.

Fernando Williams, a professor of journalism, was also a student activist at Nova State in the 1960s. He said that "the issues that are on the table now are the same things that were around in 1965, 66, 67."

Edna Barry, the Director of Housing and a former Chair of the Diversity Council, stated that attracting and retaining minority students had been one of her specific objectives for improving the climate for diversity at Nova State. She considers the problem of attraction and retention, however, to only be part of the problem regarding diversity at Nova State. A greater problem for climate is addressing attitudes:

I came from the South . . . and I think sometimes the Southern states are ahead of dealing with, particularly, the African-American minority, because we recognized we had a problem. And we were dealing with the problem. And sometimes here I'm not certain that we fully recognize the problem. And I think that you'll see pockets. Some people are extremely impatient with people who are making requests and demands. Others are very supportive. I think you will see the campus is split.

Barry also asserted what Lightfinger, Morehouse, Baka and Jackson had -- that the university must also address ways to support not only bringing in, but retaining, a diverse body of students:

We are trying here, and it's not just that it's the mandate that came from the regents that we needed to have 8% of our student body be minority to increase the diversity. And I'm not certain that we have built the infrastructures to deal with that. I'm not certain we have looked at how we can best deal, not just with addressing specific needs, but mainstreaming. And I'm not certain we were quite prepared for dealing with as much diversity.

As previously stated, issues of accommodation are currently addressed by several offices at Nova State. There is a Minority Student Support office, as well as minority student counselors who work with each of the different divisions of the university. There are also particular houses set up to allow places for the different groups of minority students to meet and organize activities. Most respondents at Nova State, like some at Agribank, seemed to feel that having such cultural groups allows minorities a means to form a supportive community. Yet, some at Agribank found the emphasis on individual culture to be divisive. One respondent at Nova State referred to the cultural minority group structure as creating a divisive climate, reiterating this theme that had emerged at Agribank. At the time of my interviews, the Asian-American students' group at Nova State were lobbying for an on-campus house to host their activities. Referring to the Asian-American student group, Jerry Duke said:

They want to develop the same kind of set up as African-Americans. I see that as a problem. I occasionally would go to the Native American celebration days, [listen to] some of their speakers, and what not, but I'd hear the same rhetoric. Telling their people that they've got to maintain their ethnic traditions and heritage and all that and to keep it from being contaminated by the whites. As long as you have that kind of an attitude, how are you going to get around it? How are you going to respect the other side if you see it in terms of contamination, in terms of being sullied by being around these other people? It's racist phobia. And that's what leads me to that [belief]: "we like our own." Very fundamental. The trick is to keep that separation and enjoy it, rather than make it a mark, a border which you can't cross.

Syra Baka saw separation of cultures problematized in another way. When I asked her what her impression of the climate for diversity issues at Nova State, she replied:

Well, I guess it would depend on who you are. That's the first thing. I think the campus climate for most students who are European-American is very positive. Depending on whether you're an adult returning student, whether you're a single mom with children, whether you're working three or four jobs, that the campus climate affects you in a different way. Even if you're off-campus for the most part, too, that affects you as well.

Depending on who you are, it's very different. I think for students of color, there are some who are supported a great deal by the faculty and staff they interact with. And they have found their niche. I don't think that that happens to the majority of the people. But I think there are cases where that does happen. I think there is a particular culture here that is not as receptive to difference, among people. Particularly international students and how they are received here. I think it's very different for them, too, coming here, not only the weather, because sometimes people come from much warmer climates, but also that they're questioned in a different way, particularly RA's and TA's. [People say] just looking at them: "Will this person be able to understand English?" That's one of the questions people [have]. "I don't want an international TA because they won't be able to speak English. I won't be able to understand them." That's one of the criticisms before even getting into the classroom.

Baka's comments give some indication of what the climate is like for international faculty. In several interviews, I asked several respondents to talk specifically about their impressions of the climate for American minority faculty. Several faculty who were not themselves minorities stated their empathy for those who were. Byron Kindle elaborated on the situation many of them face:

One of the biggest problems is that in addition to having a new faculty member that would be African-American, for example, in addition to all the

pressures of being new faculty, they also get asked to participate in everything that comes along because you've got to have diversity on a committee. And the university is run by this seething bowl of committees. And every committee has to have a female, you need to have an Hispanic and so you have so few that they get tremendous pressure to perform in ways that other faculty don't have to. Other faculty can say "Wait. I've got to get my tenure, I've got to do my research, I've gotta take care of this." And that's a tremendous pressure.

In our interview, Lawton Elders pointed out the barriers to enhancing the climate for diversity caused by hiring faculty for this reason:

I think it's the perception that when we hire people that they're going to be committed to cultural diversity, being placed on the diversity committees, and all that kind of stuff. Some people don't want to do that. They don't want to be an experiment. They've been an experiment .. and they've been the so-called "expert" for 15-20 years. All of a sudden they say: "Well, enough." 'Cause they become dissatisfied with what they've seen. People get burned out on fighting an issue that should have been solved. I mean, if we can put people on the moon we should be able to solve this commitment. And I don't think that commitment's ever going to change.

Bill Lightfinger stated that there are also barriers to minority faculty being accepted that result from negative attitudes towards affirmative action:

We're 250 years into this country, and we've not moved too far. We're only 100 years away from slavery and we're going back to some of the same issues. They're doing away with race-based scholarships, race-based this, because they've seen it as being biased against one group, which, in a sense, you legally couldn't argue against that. But it is because our groups have not been allowed a level playing field to be competitive with everybody

else. I am not a proponent of watering down admissions or anything like that. What I'm saying is "Provide a level playing field for all of us, and one that does not have to be made up of insinuations that I've [heard] up here the last two years. "Oh, you got that job just because you're brown. You're really not qualified."

Hugo Sanchez commented on how the isolation that affects incoming minorities is also a reality for existing LGBT faculty and students:

I think a lot of them have a real fear of saying anything that's going to identify them that way because of the put downs. And I tell them "If you're not willing to put it on the line, you're never going to make any progress for yourself." I said "You're going to have to be willing to say it and then back it up, and then deal with the fact that somebody may disagree and someone may put you down." But I think you have to just keep going along if you're going to get stronger and identify yourself that way. I think if you're willing to work with it, I don't think the gays and lesbians have nearly as hard a time as the black students do. I really don't. I think in the long run there's less at least outright kinds of discrimination. I mean, yeah, you're probably going to get called a fag.

In fact, Sanchez was the victim of a hate crime on campus several years ago. Someone had sprayed the word "Homo" on the door to his office. Sanchez recalled how this had affected him:

I think one of the most distressing things that I have ever had happen to me was to come and have that painted on my door. I really lost it. Thank God it had been discovered, and I was called before and they were in the process of removing it when I arrived... I was real shell-shocked. I had a hard time coming around the corner to this office for about six weeks, because I kept thinking "What's going to be on my door next? Who is going to be there?"

I had that horrible thought for a long time. And it took a long time for that to go away.

Margy Kaufman, like Kindle, Lightfinger and Sanchez, also expressed concerns over how marginalized minority faculty and students can become:

I think that we're in such a bad situation right now that the university really, really would have make a highly concerted effort to significantly increase, in particular, the African-American population. We should have at least three times as many African-American faculty members as we currently have. Then you might start getting to have enough of a support system that people would feel like: "Hey, this would be a good place to be." And also working with the community, working with the town to make sure that we've got some different things available to people that they need. And that when people walk in to businesses, they know they're not going to be stopped by the clerk because they're a certain skin color, and some of this crap that people have to put up with. And it's just ridiculous. The university really needs to think about it seriously, in terms of what it can do to help people not to feel this marginalized. They've gotta find a pretty narrow kind of support group and that's all there is to do. That's all they have to rely on. A lot more student mentoring. We've got a minority student mentoring program that I think is really helping, to some extent. I'd like to see that somehow extend beyond the upper level minority students mentoring incoming freshman students . . . it's a matter of the whole way in which we see our community. Do we see ourselves as really trying to be partners with the students to help them along, or as like we're playing God over their lives?

After considering the latter part of Kaufman's comment, which reminded me of what stereotyping comments Lightfinger said minority students often hear in the classroom,

I asked Kaufman if she thought faculty were the worst barrier to creating a more positive climate. She replied:

Absolutely! But I guess I also think there's a very weird attitude, though.

Maybe this is common with all administrations, but I think that the administrators feel like they can't really get involved in trying to change this because anything that they do is like the kiss of death. Anytime that an administrator would say: "You should do X", it just has the kiss of death to it.

I asked Kaufman if she thought Nova State should make diversity training mandatory for faculty, which has thus far been resisted by administrators at Nova State. She agreed. According to Elizabeth Moarow, when several of the initial 40 diversity facilitators provided diversity training to university departments years ago, there was a backlash against requiring this training of staff, as faculty were not required to attend. "That was one of the complaints of the secretaries," Moarow said, "if this is such a big issue, why doesn't everyone have to do it? Why do we just have to do it? Or the guys in the physical plant, how come they just have to do it? Education doesn't mean a lack of prejudice" -- which was a really valid point."

This dilemma of the climate for diversity has thus far been characterized by the Blakemore Hall issue, geography and demography and the attitudes of the population towards minorities. The other component of this is institutional policy. As evidenced by the comments of Lightfinger, Elders and others, there have been some institutional changes at Nova State. There have been diversity programs, grants and other efforts to increase diversity. Yet, the key to this discussion, and ultimately the "point to which all roads lead", is the figure of President Jaffari. He is the person who not only sets institutional policy, but also sets the example all others will follow. Thus far I have discussed Jaffari's role in the Blakemore Hall controversy and his alleged lack of clarity in defining the role of the Diversity Council. As he personally selected the members of the Diversity Council and later

looked to them for guidance on diversity, many respondents couched their discussions of diversity with an analysis of Jaffari's policies, behavior and statements.

Articulations of Administrative Power: John Jaffari

As previously stated, much of the discussion about Jaffari's perspective on diversity at Nova State was gleaned, both by me and by the respondents, from his handling of the Blakemore Hall controversy. In his response to this issue, it became apparent to many Council members that Jaffari had never clarified the roles and responsibilities of the Council.

Gary Paciorek, who is no longer serving on the Council, criticized not only Jaffari's reliance on the Council during the Blakemore Hall protests, but Jaffari's entire relationship to the Diversity Council, which again, he convened:

I think there was a lack of direction from on top, despite the fact that Jaffari has come in and met with the Council and said: "I don't understand why you did this and that. I said clearly to do this." I don't think he cared. I don't think he was very receptive to you if you said "wait a minute." He's an interesting person. He's very knowledgeable. When you say this, that, or the other, he'll have facts and what not to dispute it.

Paciorek's comments cast Jaffari as an intimidating administrative presence. This sentiment was echoed by other respondents as well. There were respondents who added to this criticism that he did not truly care about diversity and that the sum total of his efforts were essentially "smoke and mirrors." However, there were also several respondents said that Jaffari was handling diversity as well as he could, and that he was truly committed to diversifying the university. I confess that I left this site with no more understanding of his leadership and attitudes than I went in with. It often seemed to me in interviews as if the respondents were all talking about a different person. I did observe, however, that his

supporters were almost all male, and that all the male respondents were white, upper level faculty or administrators. His detractors were not all of color, but the majority were women.

Those respondents who expressed their belief that Jaffari is committed to diversity efforts, who were again almost all male, saw various roots and expressions for this commitment. Bill Lightfinger felt Jaffari was looking ahead for the university, not only to help prepare students for the larger world but also in response to the threats posed to diversifying campuses through the abolition of affirmative action in California and Texas:

I think the president is very committed to continuing the diversity. I think he understands what the national climate is and is looking toward the future of what and where are we going to be at to provide those services to our students. And what are the other schools doing? You look at Texas right now and the two major schools: Texas A&M and the University of Texas, they went down something like 20 or 25% in minority applications for fall of '97. . . We've been isolated from the real diversity of what's going on in the country. And it's catching up. And we need to continue to move towards those issues as far as encouraging diversity here before we get basically bowled over.

Ray Gorman saw evidence of Jaffari's commitment by his obtaining the financial resources to support minority students:

There's no question that the typical Afro-American does not have the basic educational preparation that the typical Nova State student has. Our entering freshmen are coming in with ACTs of 26, 27, 28, and the typical Afro-American comes in with ACTs of 17, 18, if we're lucky. And yet they're sitting next to each other, competing in the same classes for the same grades. You have to really create some kind of support structure to help these students or they're going to fail! They're going to meet nothing but

failure. And that calls for a large demand, a drain on university facilities. So here you got the university pouring out lots of money, lots of time, lots of effort, lots of personnel, and you're into meeting the needs of this diverse population, and you have to be very careful that you don't hurt the needs of the majority population at the same time. OK? We still have to remember we are a public state institution. We can't ignore the typical white student out of North Snowshoe, [the state] who comes in here and says: "Gee, Dad, I can't even get to an instructor, because the instructors are all busy working with "those" kids." Luckily, we have a wonderful president, and a wonderful provost that understand this, and have just dedicated themselves to raising the outside foundation money for the university.

Jerry Duke felt Jaffari's commitment was evidenced by his insistence on the climate surveys of the campus the Council conducted in 1993:

The president, of course, authorized these surveys. He wanted them done. When we were talking about the next round of surveys, the question was how often they would be given. And some people were suggesting that we really don't get much measure of change over a short period of time, so we could wait a significant period of time. And the president had an interesting response that annoyed some of the Council. He said: "I don't really care what the data show. I want that survey in their face." He, I think, had a better grasp about changing people's minds than some of the folks on the Council had, because he was seeing that you keep the diversity issue active [by] making people think about it. If the survey is designed in such a way that it does require that kind of thinking or personal assessment, or whatnot, then it does have that effect.

Duke's statement could pose an alternative rationale Jaffari may have had for the surveys, which is that by having them he would be more above reproach for his handling of diversity issues. By having the survey "in people's faces", he would look more committed to enhancing the climate for diversity, whether he truly was or not.

As further evidence of Jaffari's commitment to diversity, Duke also said that Jaffari listened to a diverse group of advisors:

If you look at the constitution of the people around him that he's brought in his offices [are a] very good mix, races, ethnicities, and so on. Even in the most influential positions. A, personnel officer-his lawyer . Affirmative action officer, Minority affairs officer. There's quite a diversity there of people who he listens to. They aren't just responding to his interests. He really, truly listens. I'm not sure that there's too much more that can be done.

Douglas Hintz, like Duke, felt that Jaffari has done all he can to demonstrate his concern for diversity:

I think John Jaffari has a public relations problem. I think he is extremely committed to diversity issues; he's extremely committed to Nova State. He's a tough administrator. But I think he's misunderstood on a lot of these issues, and I think he's viewed as being more autocratic than he really is. And I think that actually extends beyond diversity issues. I think some faculty members are just afraid to tell him bullcrap! And yet, I think if people did, and had logical reasons, he'd probably listen to them. I think he's doing a lot of things on the diversity side. They gave a sheet several pages long on diversity issues that have been started since he came here, and he's just not getting the credit for it. And I'm not sure how to confront that.

I asked Hintz why he felt Jaffari was perceived as intimidating and unreceptive. He responded:

Last year, the Diversity Council. I'm trying to prepare for a meeting with him, and they spent all the time orchestrating how they're going to say stuff to him, and how they're going to orchestrate the meeting. Oh! And I just thought we're not going to see the Wizard of Oz. We're going to see John Jaffari, but they treated it like when Dorothy goes to see the Wizard, she's scared to death! It just doesn't make sense.. And I don't know what precipitated that. Or what there is about him. He is a tough administrator but I don't have any problems with that at all And I know he doesn't agree with me on a lot of things, but at some point, you agree to disagree to get along. His problem is he's got so many constituents to deal with whereas the diversity group or whatever group is kind of focusing on one constituent. He's got to play to that whole field. And they often times have conflicting interests. He's gotta look at the bigger picture.

Hugo Sanchez, while far more critical of diversity issues overall at Nova State than Douglas Hintz, was also positive about Jaffari's approachability as a administrator:

It would not faze me at all to either e-mail or pick up a phone and call the president and tell him exactly what I think. In fact, it's to the point now where he'll call me and ask me before he says something. "Is this going to meet with your approval? Or am I going to hear back from you?" He's educated enough to know he better check with me if he has any questions because I'll tell'im. He'll know I'll be his first critic. I've gotten to know him on that level. We are now on a first name basis. And I think that's really helped, because I talk to him about any diversity issue, so that's been part of the education of him.

I then asked Sanchez if he felt Jaffari has truly accepted diversity issues and lobbies for them at Nova State. Sanchez replied "I think he's doing the best that he knows how to do. I certainly don't agree that that's the best. I think we have a long ways to go in a lot of areas, but I think in terms of the specific gay and lesbian issue, I think we've done extremely well."

Syra Baka expressed a view that numerous women respondents would share: "I think he would say he really cares. I don't agree with that, but I think that's what he would say." Elizabeth Moarow, who again worked with the Council on the 1993 surveys and focus groups, described Jaffari in this way:

One of my favorite quotes from the focus groups was "he talks the talk but he doesn't walk the walk." He says "I'm really concerned about diversity issues and we really need make sure people stay here and that this is a comfortable environment" and yet he won't change his mind on things that are the heart and soul of the minority groups on campus. Blakemore Hall was a big issue on campus. [He] would never ever consider having that name change even though this person made racist remarks. But it was known from the beginning by this Council. So I think when he doesn't back up what he says with action then nobody else will think they have to do it either. The thing is he can do these damn surveys on campus but what the heck is he doing? What is he changing on campus?

Margy Kaufman addressed this very question and was very vocal about her disgust with the entire administrative response to diversity. Referring to administrators' efforts to enhance diversity and the climate for it, she exclaimed:

They're just infuriating! It almost makes me wonder why they even bother to talk about diversity when they absolutely have not done virtually anything to show that they really either understand what this is all about, have any

interest in trying to understand what it's about, or are going to do anything about it!

I then referred to the sheet of items the university had published concerning what it has done for diversity, entitled "How We're Enhancing Diversity" which was briefly described in the beginning of this chapter. On this list are diversity efforts from across the university: faculty and staff initiatives, student initiatives, and diversity-related activities particular to different colleges and programs. When I held it up for Kaufman to read, she scoffed:

Like they have done a zillion things! And they don't jack shit about all this.

The fact that they can put together this list when most of the time the left hand doesn't know what the right is doing in the first place and the people who are doing all these things are completely being marginalized within their departments!

The idea of marginalization would also run through many respondents' comments when they tried to address the issue of power. Min Dong, who had expressed her sense of the futility the October 13th Movement's efforts, also expressed frustration about the Council's ability to "speak truth to power." While the Council had tried to make changes, Dong and others grew disillusioned when confronted with its inability to do so:

We weren't effective because it starts at the top. And it has to work its way down. It was just really frustrating working with the Council. It wasn't because of the people on the Council necessarily. Even though that had a little to do with it. We met a couple times with President Jaffari and he really didn't want to work with us even though he appeared to. For instance, we would send him an agenda to let him know ahead of time what we were going to meet on. And I know he's busy, but he would have just read it. At least that's what he said; he just read it like a half hour before we met. And so we met a couple times, and he just basically talked in circles.

And we couldn't say exactly what was on our mind because of the people who had influence over our lives. You know what I mean? People who could actually help or not help us. And some of them were friends of President Jaffari's and so they would be like: "Oh yeah, we were having lunch the other day and we were talking..." And so that just let me know that they're friends. At least they're associates. And so maybe you better not be as blunt, you should kind of dance around the subject like they did. We weren't very effective on the Council. And I really had hopes that we would [be]. That I would [be]. I just knew I could make a difference. And I really believed in diversity. And now I don't as much.

Dong's comment pointed out not only her own sense of frustration as a Council member, but also confirmed some of the statements made earlier about the marginalization of not only minorities but those who may try to enhance diversity at the university. In this section, I've explored how the President of Nova State, John Jaffari, is perceived as a bearer of the institution's message for diversity. As there was ambiguity at Agribank over the company's rationale and vision for diversity initiatives, there is also ambiguity here of power and authority. Most respondents were unclear about what Jaffari expected of the Diversity Council. Respondents seemed more divided over his leadership perspective. I wonder is John Jaffari truly committed to enhancing diversity or is he just "talking the talk?" As he is at the "helm" of diversity efforts at Nova State, his management of this issue greatly effects how the climate for diversity can and will be enhanced. While Jaffari has to work with various constituencies, and look at, as Hintz said, the "bigger picture", if any positive change is to occur, his vision, like the "business case" for diversity at Agribank, must be made clearer.

Measuring Outcomes from Diversity Efforts

Jaffari's true perspective on enhancing was not only a point of difference between respondents, it was also part of the assessment of the outcomes of the Diversity Council and the diversity-related programs at Nova State. The main theme of the outcomes that respondents identified concerned administrative developments. The strongest response was that the diversity-related programs at Nova State generated an awareness. This awareness was manifested in a variety of forms: the work of the Council in bringing diversity issues to the forefront, the completion of the 1993 climate surveys and focus groups, the general acceptance of the need to hire minority faculty and bring in more minority students. Several respondents also indicated that simply having the Council meet and develop a diversity action plan for the university was an important step towards enhancing diversity for the entire university. Some respondents connected this outcome to the relationship between Jaffari and the Diversity Council.

Douglas Hintz felt that a change in Jaffari's perspective marked a positive outcome of the Diversity Council's efforts:

I think he was very surprised at some of the issues that we suggested that we get involved in. I think he used the term that the things we brought up weren't even on his "radar screen." I would see that as a positive contribution, because I think you sometimes get rolling along, and you can get caught up in mindsets that things are going all right. [It's] probably good if people tell you what you don't want to hear, or what you're not expecting to hear. I feel that's positive, but it was outside the scope of what we were supposed to be doing.

Howard Berkshire felt that an administrative outcome was also achieved by the president working with the Diversity Council:

I think the biggest outcome is that there's more dialogue between the Council and the president. And [the] appointment of positions within administration, filling niches with people that are, hopefully, sensitive to the issues of diversity. Not just as professional necessities, but as a sense of the reality of the mission of the university relative to diversity. And many of those people are people of race and gender in top positions. So, whether that would have happened without a Diversity Council, I don't know, but I think that there's a certain positive impact on the administration.

Ray Gorman, who has been at the university for nearly forty years, also asserted awareness was an outcome evidenced within the Nova State administration:

You go back and look at this university when we started and look at where we are today. You look at the awareness. I just noticed the provost is on a committee here, a panel yesterday or the day before yesterday where he was publicly espousing his commitment to our diversity, and saying "we have to get more, we have to get more." We're way above what you'd call quotas for the state, but we don't run ourselves by quotas for the state. We say that the more diverse we can make our student body the better off all of our student body will be.

Of course the awareness outcome that Gorman is citing may simply be that it is prudent for universities to diversify to ensure their survival in a global society. The fact that the provost wants to "get more" may also be an awareness of the necessity to diversify to indicate an acceptance of cultural diversity. This might not indicate that a true awareness and understanding of diversity has taken place or that attitudes towards diversity have actually changed.

Byron Kindle, like Gorman, saw evidence of the administrative commitment to diversity evidenced by their efforts to bring more minorities into the university. Like both

Lightfinger and Gorman, he connected this development with an administrative understanding of the "business case" for diversity:

I think a genuine effort on the part of the administration to hire and retain ethnic minority faculty has sent a very strong signal. And I think, even though we haven't had very dramatic increases, that we're making small gains in that area. That's probably the most significant thing that's happened. I really think central administration and the administration in the colleges recognize what I mentioned earlier: We need this. We need this to be able to train students for a global society.

While this idea of bringing in more minorities may be a positive outcome, there still remains the question of what the climate is like for minorities and whether or not the university is able to retain them. Most people who cited positive outcomes were talking about physical changes the university had made. When I asked Edna Barry, who, again, was a previous Chair of the Diversity Council, about her sense of the outcomes of the Diversity Council and diversity programs, she enumerated what she felt were several important administrative outcomes:

Completion of the '96 campus survey, the involvement in the diversity forums, which we've had, and we now co-sponsor along with the lectures committee, and the opportunity to listen to the October 13th movement. I think just the fact that they felt that they had a chance to be heard and that the Diversity Council would listen. It was also an education, because we had perceived that these people maybe had horns on and they were going to obnoxious and impolite. They were extremely polite. They spoke with a great deal of passion. . . So I think we grew a bit of understanding. And I think the Diversity Council's involvement in the forums; I think we helped to defuse that in part.

Barry seemed to indicate, as other respondents did, that simply having the Council in place generated outcomes. It marked a site of campus dialogue on the issue; it may have helped smooth over negative issues brought forth by the 37 forums and the efforts of the October 13th movement. Out of these efforts, the Council was able to make suggestions to Jaffari for the university's strategic plan.

After she listed her sense of the positive outcomes, I then asked Barry what she thought the Council needed to focus on in the future. She replied that she would like to see the Council, and the university as a whole, return to the mission for diversity outlined in the 1996 strategic plan:

But I'm not certain that's the plan. I see that we are still functioning more, as what I call the "knee jerk reaction." I saw that during one of the forums. Where you were trying to address the African-American issues and the Hispanics get up and say: "Why don't we have a Hispanic cultural center like you're doing [for the other groups]." And the president says " You ask and I'll give." I'm not quite certain that we really know where we want to be. And so we're still kind of reacting.

Beverly Jackson also critiqued the reactive process of gauging outcomes when she pointed out that there are important steps to be taken before looking for results. This process, she argued, is often overlooked. When I asked Jackson about her sense of outcomes from diversity initiatives at Nova State, she answered:

We keep wanting to jump in to the middle of everything, and for you and I to work as a team we need to talk about work and what our individual styles are, what the topic is, how we would approach it, and what we would expect as an outcome. But if you jump in all the time, you're looking for the outcome, you're not going to get one, because the other pieces haven't been put together. We aren't a team.

It seems that this ambiguity -- the difference between the administration being proactive or reactive--also marks the lack of administrative direction for diversity efforts. Barry was not the only respondent who also articulated a sort of impatience with those groups who, like the Hispanic students in her example, were asking for accommodations from the administration. A similar form of impatience had been expressed by Gorman and Duke when they asserted that the October 13th movement would just "go away." When Jaffari seems to be expressing impatience in his unwillingness to meet with members of the movement or even provide a clear direction for the Diversity Council, he denies the legitimacy of either entity. In considering Jaffari's role, I was reminded of two statements Devon Ayers at Agribank had made: "We do have leaders" and "There is a power structure." At Nova State, both these statements seemed to have been denied, as the true nature of Jaffari's vision for diversity was found lacking.

Seemingly, the only avenue where commitment to diversity is evident at Nova State is through money. To read the list of university-wide diversity "outcomes" entitled "How We're Enhancing Diversity", it seems that a lot of funding has been made available to hire minority faculty, bring in minority students and offer some non-mandatory diversity education. Ray Gorman saw the allocation of funds for these efforts as signifying administrative commitment. Syra Baka, who was more critical of the outcomes of the diversity efforts at Nova State than most of the respondents, like Gorman and Kindle also saw some administrative commitment to diversity evidenced by funds allocated to bring minorities to Nova State. Yet, she didn't think this outcome would have a broad enough effect to change the climate for diversity. Regarding having more minority faculty at Nova State than in previous years, Baka stated:

I think that's important. But not everybody is experiencing that yet. There are students here who have very, very limited views. There are European-American students who have very, very limited interactions with African-American students, with Asian-American and Latino, Latina, Native

American. I was just looking at the numbers. I mean they can't be everywhere every time. With LGBT students, even though they may be having those interactions, they don't know they're having those interactions.

Here again we return to the issue of how outcomes are perceived, and Baka's comment essentially poses the question of whether literal outcomes—more discussions and more minorities—truly affect the climate for diversity. As Bill Lightfinger said "climate is like the weather." It is hard to control. What this leads me to then is the idea of individual outcomes. If one cannot control an entire "ecosystem", the larger climate, one can at least control one's corner of the hemisphere. As I did at Agribank corporation, I therefore asked respondents if they had perceived any personal outcomes or attitudinal changes from either serving on the Diversity Council or from diversity-related programs at the university. Only two people out the 31 respondents indicated that diversity efforts had generated any attitudinal outcome for them. This was Min Dong and Elizabeth Moarow, who both credited a personal perspective change to working with the Diversity Council. Regarding serving on the Council, Dong said:

It did help me in one aspect and that was dealing with homosexual people. It helped a lot and I'm now totally accepting. And I wasn't before. Because a girl in one of my classes invited me to one of their meetings, the LGBT [group]. First I was very offended that she even invited me. And then I started thinking "I'm on the Diversity Council. I'm supposed to [be] accepting" and I'm not a hypocrite, so next time I saw her, I said: "OK, I'll go to the meeting." And then I started going, and I realized they're no different than anyone else. It opened my eyes. So that was the one positive outcome of the DC (Diversity Council). But that was more personal, not as far as the university goes.

Elizabeth Moarow expressed a personal outcome similar to Dong's after I had asked her if there were any diversity-related issues that were more important to her personally:

Before I was on the Diversity Council, I thought I was a prejudice-free person. Diversity to me would have been a gender issue strongly -- making sure women had equal rights. That would have been the main focus. And now it's more color and orientation. Because of everything that I learned. It really changed my thinking to listen to some of those focus groups and see all the pain that those people are in and some of the things they've experienced on campus. And so it's much more broad than it was before. And so it's changed from strictly gender to be more inclusive of other groups.

The administrative and personal outcomes previously outlined were all of a positive nature, with some qualifications. There was one respondent, however, who expressed what he saw as a negative attitudinal outcome of diversity programs at Nova State. Bill Lightfinger, when asked if the climate for diversity issues at the university had improved since he came there eight years ago, replied "I think [now it's] maybe worse, because now they're more blatant and it's not hidden anymore. There's no problem telling you in the face that, you know: ""Hey, I don't think you deserve being [here]."" I asked Lightfinger if he was referring to a backlash against minorities on campus. He felt that this was part of the reaction:

There seems to be that. And I don't know if it's because it is more open, we really don't care about peoples' feelings, whether [they're] red, white, blue, black, whatever. We just don't seem to care about that anymore. I don't know if it's that we can't change those attitudes or I'm sounding like a pessimist. It's an ongoing battle, that one faces. And we evaluate our successes by the battles that we win here. And some come in splurges, others are far and few between.

Toward the end of my interviews at Nova State, I was provided with the sheet "How We're Enhancing Diversity", mentioned early, that enumerated Nova State's efforts regarding diversity. Because I received this so late in the process, I was unable to get every respondent's perspective on it. Once I did have it, however, I would ask respondents about it in our interview. Some respondents would refer to the diversity sheet with pride as if to say "see, well, there you go." Others, like Margie Kaufman, would practically sneer at it. I was particularly struck by Priscilla Morehouse's reaction to the sheet, which again, listed over 50 items from across the university. Morehouse said :

The issue is never quantity, the issue is always quality. You could list a thousand things that are working or may be working but its the quality that counts. If those things are not generating quality faculty, if there isn't generating a diverse reaction, it's an exercise in futility and so what we have to think about is if you produce a list that long for me then I want to see some parallel results. If you say you got all these programs then why can't I see something-some evidence- that these programs have produced what it is you're trying to produce? If they got all these programs in place, then why do we keep creating more?

I then asked Morehouse if what she meant was that the programs in place were not doing anything. She agreed, and when I asked her if she believed there were any positive outcomes of diversity efforts at Nova State, she replied:

There of course have been some changes in a positive direction. The fact that I can sit here and say I teach African American studies is a positive change. Besides that, the fact that Women's Studies, and Latino Studies, and Native American Studies are all going to be doing or are doing searches for a director is a positive change. To me, of all the things that have to take place to make these programs work, advertising for a director and securing a director is the easiest. Because what that director has to come in and do

really requires a lot of work in terms of different relationships and constituencies across the campus. But really because that director is really going to have to deal with the issue of where the power is.

In listening to Morehouse, who went on after this comment to essentially critique the issue of outcomes as it relates to the lack of changing power, I realized how meaningless a sheet such as "How We're Enhancing Diversity" can be. It is a list of initiatives, money and attention that has been paid to diversity. It does arguably show that this is an institution that wants to generate outcomes. Unlike Agribank, Nova State seems to track the results of its programs, through surveys and presentations of data such as "How We're Enhancing Diversity". Yet there is no indication that these changes have helped the climate for diversity. The 1996 climate surveys may help answer this question. What they won't target, however, as Morehouse would point out, is whether power has been re-distributed within the institution. If Nova State and other universities are truly trying to diversify, then they need to understand how that is likely to change how the system functions. Making changes in how the university is structured, for example offering cultural programs that provide power and voice to under-represented or minority groups, essentially will change the power structure of the university. This was the crux of Morehouse's argument and she asserted that:

Not only a rethinking of the system needs to take place, but there needs to be discussion among everybody involved. And also, if you're going to move towards diversity and multicultural issues and interdisciplinary [programs], you can't always do them always from the positions of power. And that's what people often want to do on diversity issues. They don't want to give up any power. They want to talk diversity but nobody wants to move off their little thing to allow some room for diversity to evolve. Because its going to evolve differently than what the traditional situation is.

I asked her then if she was saying enhancing diversity would naturally entail power being re-distributed. She replied that:

It has to be redistributed. Otherwise it makes no sense. But the problem is people want to diversify without distributing the power. They want programs without giving power to the programs. The university has to make sure that it is what it wants because you have to change the status quo to make it work. Now you can talk diversity and sprinkle a little pepper among the salt so people are not negative about pepper but if that's all you want, then its not diversity that you want.

Solutions for Enhancing Diversity and Generating Attitudinal Outcomes

Morehouse left our interview having, maybe unknowingly, posed an important question. Is it truly diversity that Nova State wants, or is simply trying to "sprinkle a little pepper." I concluded my interviews at this site without a clear answer to this question. Part of the answer lies, again, with the perspectives and objectives of President Jaffari, and as I stated earlier, his true attitude towards enhancing diversity remains unclear. I saw much evidence that the university is spending a lot of money on diversity issues; the grants and programs listed on the sheet "How We're Enhancing Diversity" alone substantiate that. Yet, I read Nova State to be an organization much like Agribank, whose constituents were confused, and sometimes frustrated, with the lack of an articulated direction for diversity initiatives. Without a clear leadership statement, not only are positive outcomes much harder to generate, there is arguably trust lost between the constituents and the leadership when it is sensed that they "talk the talk but don't walk the walk."

This is not to say that there were no positive outcomes from the work of the Diversity Council and the various diversity programs on campus. There were. To note, however, the discussion of what outcomes were derived from diversity programs and the

work of the Diversity Council at Nova State was fraught, as evidenced by the concerns of Morehouse and Jackson, with questions about how outcomes should be gauged. I was seeking a self-report on attitudinal changes. Do diversity implementations generate attitudinal change? As happened at Agribank corporation, few respondents said that their attitudes had changed as a result of diversity implementations. Furthermore, as I discovered at Agribank corporation, discussions about attitudinal change brought forth a discussions of whether it is possible to change attitudes at all. Respondents at Nova State, like those at Agribank, addressed this question during our interviews. Many also stated that attitudes are best changed through a strong administrative effort to do so.

Byron Kindle commented on the responsibility of administrators for creating an environment conducive to attitudinal change as well as the pitfalls of an over-focus on gauging outcomes:

Probably the most important thing is that you have an attitude of doing a lot of different things that send a signal. The worst thing I think you can do is have one or two programs, and then you step back and you put a major emphasis on it and you say: "OK, let's see if we were successful." What you want to do is send the signal so that it gets to all the faculty and staff and students that this is important. It's a high priority. I think that's the most important thing you can do, is convey the importance of it. And then recognize that slowly with time it'll probably change a little. We oughta have required courses, we oughta have a very active program to hire minorities. We oughta have diversity training for secretaries and technicians. All that does is put together a message that it's important. Tenure-everybody knows why we do it. Everybody knows about tenure. We send strong messages. Our research programs. There are certain things that we [know] -- sexual harassment. There's just a whole array of things that you get the message [on]. And that's what we oughta do.

Edna Barry, like Kindle and Fritz Newman at Agribank, advocated that a trickle down approach, starting at the administrative level of the organization, was the best way to accomplish change:

I'm not certain that you can change [attitudes]. You try to provide an environment when people can function effectively. But I cannot go in and say: "Now you've gotta change your attitude." But I would like to think that as an administrator, my way of operating, my way of dealing with people, my way of accepting diversity would start rubbing off on people. I think that if I don't believe I can change people, then maybe we might as well give up. But somehow, it's not just a change because I tell you to do that. It's whether people think we really practice what we preach.

The idea of an administrator, especially the chief administrator in an organization, "practicing" what is "preached", was also a theme at Agribank. In addition, as was discussed in both this chapter and Chapter Four, there is doubt at both sites in this study whether or not the administration is truly doing that. Min Dong also stressed the need for administrative support for diversity, and like Barry, believed once leaders were committed to diversity, the message would trickle down throughout the university:

You can't change other people. You can't hit someone over across the head and say: "OK, you gotta change your attitude." But it's really helpful if people in administrative positions, like in the higher [positions], really believed in diversity. And not said the right words, but really were accepting themselves. I think that would just trickle down into other areas. But I don't know specifically how to do that, because if they have the Diversity Council or [students] take those classes and it still doesn't get through to them-I don't know. I really don't.

Dong's comment brings up another salient point in the discussion of attitudinal change-what if diversity programs, which are in place at both Agribank corporation and

Nova State, do not work? Is the awareness approach, as propagated by respondents at Agribank, enough of an outcome not only for the time and money expended but also to improve the climate? I began this study with the assumption that diversity programs should do more than just attempt to make people more aware of diversity. I believe that a climatic change in an environment comes through a deliberate effort to shift attitudes. As stated in chapter One, there is research to support the argument that adults attitudes can be changed. However, many respondents, both at Agribank and at Nova State, doubted whether this could happen. Many respondents also believed a more behavioral approach-one that didn't so much address values and beliefs but that provided incentives and consequences for behavior, would be more effective in the long run in creating change within an organization.

Priscilla Morehouse argued that Nova State must take a behavioral approach to diversity and offered several examples of how this has been effective at other institutions. She also anticipated the difficulties a university would run into when it takes this stance:

You might not change attitudes but you can punish behavior. And hope that the punishment will in some way encourage change. I think that attitudes, most people's attitudes, can be dealt with simply. If they can see what is the benefit for them, they'll be willing to give it a try .

I asked Morehouse how this approach might be enacted at Nova State. Her approach was, in her words, based on a corporate framework:

There would be certain incentives for those who take it serious, work hard, participate and for those who don't there's no reward. That's it. You don't get anything. And so you can scratch, bite and complain, but the only way you get anything is to get involved. You almost have to have something in place that helps them understand the price you pay for resisting change.

And it's sort of like a corporate model, for example like Denny's and those people who want to discriminate, and insist on doing it, you just make em

pay, keep fining em, making them kick out the money. After a while they either start making some change, or [go out of business]. It's like when Texaco got caught this year with racist activity and people stopped buying gas from them, and then they had to kick out the penalties for discrimination. They started bringing in consultants, they started trying to do things to look like they were trying to do things to diversify and be sensitive to the racial and sex issue. So here if people don't want to participate, if programs and departments insist on not diversifying, there's a penalty to pay. And the administrators have to decide what that's going to be. But it's going to take a bold administration to do that, it's going to have to be someone who cares more about the issue of academic diversity than anything else. Because what I'm suggesting for that department is whatever is minimally required to maintain, that's what you have. If it takes two dollars to keep you afloat, that's all you get, if you can't get in line with what the university is trying to push. And for the other people who are, whatever they need, you support that. I believe in that.

Douglas Hintz also believed a behavioral approach would bring greater results than an institutional focus simply on raising awareness. He also argued that behavior was far easier to change than attitudes:

Attitudes you can change, but the deep-seated ones are, which are almost closer to a personality trait, that's not going to change. And I think sometimes your dollars are better spent on behavior than attitude. It's like sexual harassment, you can't make a sexist pig into a liberal, but you can keep a sexist pig from hitting on people. I think it's a function of how deep-seated [attitudes] are. Some people have made up their mind [about] diverse groups, whether they be homosexuals, or African-Americans, or

whatever. I think [it's]going to be very difficult to change their attitudes. I think you can change their behaviors.

The discussion of regulating behavior is linked to an important element threaded through the analysis of this site, which is the issue of administrative power. By setting up a behavioral punish and reward system, an administrator would be asserting his or her power. This is one solution to changing the climate for diversity. However, there were also those respondents who returned to another dimension of power that Morehouse had articulated, which involves the redistribution, rather than the assertion, of power. Like Ben Adkins at Agribank corporation, Howard Berkshire stated that a responsive, successfully diverse community is more easily created in a liberal arts-focused environment where there is a specific dialogue about sharing power and responsibility:

I think we need a major attitude change about what a university is. I come from my undergraduate at a small, liberal arts college. And sometimes when I say things relative to the sensitivities maybe that we learned, or maybe we had, that's why we went to liberal arts campuses. [It] makes a difference. Yet if you try to espouse those to people that haven't had those experiences, it's very difficult. Not that one is right and one is wrong. But how do you share the substances, of your understanding and insights and sentiments and feelings from a broader education of liberal arts, as opposed to a technical, more narrow sort of a focus . . . At the university itself, because we are driven by the political reality, we're looking for cost-effectiveness, cost efficiency, and that seems to be dominating over departmental or local things the faculty think are important. Whatever the pressures are on, on the president and the administration to make things more efficient, they maybe lose sight sometimes of what it is that the university needs to be. And while we're supposed to have shared governance, sometimes that's just motions we go through. And decisions

are made somewhere toward the top whether it's at the college or departmental level, despite whatever faculty thinks it is. And then you end up not really having faculty governance, or attention to the substance of what a good staff and others are really saying because the judgment is sometimes based on too narrow of a line. When it comes to diversity issues, what does that mean? I don't know that we have a good philosophy on that. We tend to be a top-down institution. In other words, I think we need to do more bottom-up.

Margy Kaufman also expressed the need for the university to examine, and possibly reinvent itself as a community:

I think that [Nova State] needs to really clearly define and enact policies that can really show all of the members of the community that they're going to be respected and treated fairly and decently. And so I would say that having a different kind of infrastructure, building a different kind of support structure where people are going to interact with each other is where we need to be focusing. Human relations, and how do we create a situation where we really can talk to each other much better across whatever differences we have?

Priscilla Morehouse expressed the need for continual education in building a strong, diverse community. She suggested mandatory diversity education, which again, has thus far been resisted at Nova State:

I would send my faculty to school. I would send people in position of authority and power to school. Because to talk diversity and to hire faculty and not educate people about how to implement diversity and how to work together so that it can become an accepted part of the community, is just a detriment in the long run. So I would require directors, chairs of departments, to take courses. I'm not talking about these little one hour,

someone comes in one time, I'm talking about a connected course of some sort, or intense seminars of some sort, in which in the end product addresses developing some sort of diversity initiative. Something where I could see application of the knowledge they would have acquired over a period of time through having been involved in diversity training. So my first move would be to send people to school on a rotating basis. Maybe send somebody in the college of liberal arts first. The next semester, you work with people in another college, then you move it around until you get to the president going to school. Because if you gonna talk diversity and you gonna have a university that's trying to diversify, then you have to know more than the word "diversity".

The idea of community as articulated by Berkshire, Kaufman and Morehouse relates to the need for Nova State to create an internal community which is accepting of difference and understanding of mutual responsibilities. This, again, may entail the restructuring of power. There was another emphasis on community in these interviews which addressed forging alliances outside the university, namely addressing diversity with the city of Northpoint, where the university is located.

Edna Barry stated that a community-building focus would bring more resolution to diversity issues:

I would like to bring a group of students, staff, faculty, townspersons together to identify what we could do to enhance the climate in our community; try to develop some taskforces that would cut across all of these dimensions, working more on the big umbrella plan. Start working on some task forces, and really have some situations where we can see some measurable outcomes. Immediate, and [then] our short term outcomes, and then long term. I think we almost have to do some phasing. And when we're talking about a community such as this, we're not just talking about

the university community, but we're talking about the Northfield community. But I sometimes think we're talking past each other! Not with each other. Maybe have some of those very specific focus groups kind of discussion. I'm not certain a Diversity Council in its full-blown scale is what we need!

Beverly Jackson stated her belief that a community-building focus would bring the university greater positive outcomes from its diversity efforts:

Almost every place where I've done consulting, one of the things that I've encouraged is a collaboration with the community, a collaboration with the various audiences. Now there's a genuine collaborative relationship between the city and the larger employers in the area, the service entities. How are we going to be successful at retaining non-traditional students who came here with family if we don't have child care? And the same is true for others. So, it's that kind of sensitivity to what the population is and providing the service that it takes to attract them and to keep them.

The alliances with Northpoint that Barry and Jackson urged do seem to have been forged. According to several respondents, task forces comprised of both Northpoint Chamber of Commerce members and Nova State staff have met in the past year. Two of the issues that they discussed, according to these same respondents, was how minorities are poorly treated in stores in the area and how no store in the area was carrying hair-care products for African-Americans. Both of these factors arguably contribute to a hostile climate for minorities outside the university.

The third concept of community that emerged in the discussion of solutions was a need to prepare Nova State students for the diverse communities outside the city and state. How were students' attitudes being addressed in a way that would prepare them for the living and working in a global society? Beverly Jackson not only stressed the need for community building at Nova State, she also asserted that students must understand and be

prepared for living and working in a larger community. She expressed her role in this process:

I have a responsibility to Dr. Jaffari, the land grant institution, to provide a service to the citizens of [the state]. One of the best services we can provide, or I can provide, is to prepare their kids for the international community in which they're going to compete. And if he hasn't said it, I've said it for him numerous times. I think that's absolutely true. Now what we need to do is convince the students that they need to allow us to inject them with this kind of diversity thinking. That's not to say that they aren't at sometimes going to drop what they've learned. It's just like being raised Catholic, going to Catholic schools, at some point you'll say wait a minute, "I've accepted that all this time, but I didn't have the same experience that I have now." At some point in time they can do that. But at least they need to go out and have that training, that education, and that experience, so they can draw their own conclusions. They're not there now.

Ray Gorman, like Jackson, also stated that students must learn to understand diversity and how this understanding will benefit them:

The university now has an awareness of the role that diversity plays and it's valuable. Because the university is a viable, growing, changing unit. And it isn't static. And you could say we're here today, and three years from now, unless you continue to track that problem, the student body will say: "Well, I don't know. I came from North Snowshoe, [the state], and we didn't have any of them kinds of people there. And I don't need them kinds of people here." We say: "Of course you do." You're going to be in a world that has "those" people and you're going to work with them and you're going to be a stronger, better person by learning how to do that. One of the

things is you can never sit back and say: "We're there!" You have to keep working.

Bill Lightfinger, like Jackson, was quoted previously as not seeing the students at Nova State university as having arrived at this understanding. When I asked him what could be done to change both student and faculty attitudes at Nova State, it seemed that this was a question he had often considered:

We bounce around issues from making mandatory to increasing the resources to it. It has to change within each person, each person has to value it. And if you don't value it, I can teach diversity till I'm blue in the face. If you don't value it, it doesn't do any good. So it actually has to be an internal change for the individual, understanding what diversity is about, why it should be valued, not tolerated, but valued. It has to come from inside, from within, from each individual out there. We can have a great diversity plan, we can have a great diversity initiative, we can have all those programs. But if you don't buy into it, you will be one and you are let's say a faculty member in a big class-Psych 100 or something like that, where you teach X amount of students every semester. And that message that you don't value diversity -- that's a big influence on a lot of students. So it goes back to no matter how much offices like this, a diversity council, Latino studies, African-American studies, a Black Cultural Center, processes, programs, seminars, we can do them till we're blue in the face but until individuals start accepting it as a way of life, we got a long way to go.

How does one create this acceptance and valuing quality Lightfinger and others are referring to? If diversity education and programs were not working, what would? One of the central solutions that many respondents had for how to change attitudes was simply to increase the numbers of minorities at Nova State, both students and faculty. Through a diverse group of faculty, majority population students could be exposed to new ideas. Syra

Baka, when I asked her opinion on how to change attitudes towards diversity, replied: "The first thing that I would say, and I've been going back and forth about this, I think there needs to be serious recruitment, almost an aggressive recruitment at this time of faculty and staff of color, as well as LGBT faculty and staff." Byron Kindle's comments echoed Baka's: "The most important thing that needs to be done is to have some diversity among the faculty and students. And yet we don't have that. You've basically got a 48-year-old male white Lutheran faculty." It is a matter of saturation. Without the numbers to support diversity efforts, and to have greater diversity in the community, no diversity related efforts could ultimately be successful.

As mentioned previously in this chapter, Nova State is attempting to diversify its faculty and students, and has allocated funds for the hiring of faculty of color as well as for the development of cultural studies programs, like African American and Latino/Latina studies. I gathered in my interviews that these programs are too new to assess their effectiveness. Bill Lightfinger, in our interview, also pointed out an inherent obstacle in the pursuit of attracting and retaining a diverse faculty:

Lack of faculty of color is a concern, but yet, none of us want to be those replacements. So how can we increase that pool? So, that's how we try to create some personal responsibility in the students so as for them to see that the lack of faculty of color, while it seems to create a hostile environment for them, it is also a re-result of more students of color not wanting to go into education. So, it's a catch-22. If we don't get more students into education, then there's going to be less faculty. Because it's a pool that is not recharging itself.

Lightfinger, as well as Beverly Jackson and Lawton Elders, therefore said that as a solution to this issue the university should consider hiring its own graduates. Most

universities seem loathe to engage in such a process but as Jackson expressed it "why put so much money into teaching and training them only to lose them to another university?" Retention has long been an issue for Nova State, as was stated early in this chapter. As Morehouse asked "What is the climate like for people when they get here?" If the climate is not hospitable to minorities, then retention is not likely. Elders and Jackson, both people of color, suggested then that the university must be honest with people about the limits of moving into a community like Northpoint and Nova State.

Elders argued:

It's just a matter of being able to give everybody the complete picture and not just the recruiting picture. They should let everybody know exactly what they're getting into up front. You need as much information as possible. I think that's why people leave here. You talk to people on exit interviews, one of the biggest [complaints] is " Well, nobody told me what I was getting into. They didn't say this might happen." I don't know where that kind of information is. I don't know what [they] want to do. But that is important. People want to get out of here. [They say] "This isn't what I thought it was." Well, somewhere along the line the information should have been [passed].

Jackson also said that the university should be honest with incoming minorities about what they might find lacking in the community. "Everybody can't meet everybody's needs" Jackson argued, "not in every ghettoized area."

The question I had in considering Elder's and Jackson's comments, and also those from the many respondents who talked about the lack of diversity at Nova State and in Northpoint, was what the university did say to incoming minorities. I was not sure which office or administrator at the university would be either able or allowed to speak honestly with a prospective student or faculty member about the homogeneity of the population and the climate for diversity. Possibly this person would be the "diversity czar" for the

university, the hiring of which was one of the suggestions the Diversity Council had made to Jaffari in 1993. This person would be hired to oversee the management of diversity issues for the entire Nova State community. Margy Kaufman, in our interview, was particularly positive about the benefits such a person could provide:

I've said this several times to the president and through various venues, the Diversity Council made a recommendation that we should look into having an ombudsperson who would oversee all the stuff. Someone who'd [provide] employee assistance for whatever kinds of problems people have. [It] would be a part of not only staff grievances but student grievances. All of that stuff could be dealt with through this kind of conduit.

Jerry Duke was less convinced of the viability of a diversity ombudsperson: There's been the occasional suggestion of an ombudsperson for the diversity, to deal with this and similar kinds of issues. The president has resisted that. I think more for perhaps reasons of finance and control than anything else. I think his argument is that we have adequate systems for anybody who has a grievance to carry them out. There's no need for this. I think he's probably right. [But] there may be a certain image [though] that you present when you have that person. If you have that diversity ombudsperson out there it serves as a beacon that says: "We really care because we have this person here."

In the Fall of 1996, President Jaffari did appoint a faculty member, Michael Rojas, as a diversity advisor for the university. This position is in addition to his regular duties as an Associate Professor of Political Science. Rojas does not serve as an ombudsperson for diversity, but is a "diversity advisor to the president's cabinet." As he described it:

I'm mainly there to give advice, to question what we're doing as a university, to provide the university's conscience. . . . The President's goal was to get someone who is on the inside-someone who'd have the respect

of the faculty. You know how faculty are; they tend to respect someone who is their equal. Someone who knows what it's like to do teaching, writing, service. My job is giving advice, trying to persuade people to see other sides of their decisions.

When asked, Rojas offered several solutions for enhancing diversity at Nova State. He thought that required diversity training was very important for faculty and staff, even though they might often feel that "'we live in [the state]. We don't have that problem.'" He also would like to see a process whereby people are able to "switch roles" and experience life as a minority in order to better understand that position. Regarding his perspective on the Blakemore Hall controversy, which again can serve as a metaphor for diversity issues at Nova State, Rojas echoed one of Priscilla Morehouse's sentiments: "I think we need to consider the importance of things we do from the perspective of how it affects all people, not just if it gives the people in power what they want."

Another solution that both Rojas and Morehouse had proposed was putting money behind diversity efforts and making the programs in the "best interests" of the various university constituents. This is very similar to the behavioral approach to change outlined earlier. In his suggestion for solutions to enhancing diversity, Douglas Hintz essentially combined the behavioral and "best interests" approaches:

If the objective is to bring more people of diverse backgrounds to Nova State University, whether it be students or faculty, I think you've got to offer incentives to do it. Offer incentives to do it, penalize those that don't do it. . . If you want diversity to be part of the administrative system, then you have to make it part of the reward structure. You can't say: "Well, by the way, do this", and have [it be] such a low priority. Unless there's something tied to it, then it will be an afterthought, if it's thought of at all.

Gary Paciorek also asserted that new roles need to be presented in faculty's best interests:

I don't know that anybody's come up with a way to train diversity. I mean, it's sort of like, you know, legislating morality. How do you do that? Obviously the cure to any racial or ethnic problems we have is that everybody should be more tolerant and more equitable towards everyone else. Now to make them do it, unfortunately it has to be in their best interests.

Bill Lightfinger explained one of the reasons why he thinks diversity efforts are often not in the best interests of faculty:

Faculty come in and you are rated and valued on your research and publication. Yes, you're expected to do some social service, or community service but when it comes down to training, that's not valued. It's "Well, what did you publish? What's your research? How much money did you bring in?" So it becomes that vicious circle again. How do we handle that? How do we promote that? And convince the folks that we value it? Use it as part of the promotion. Whether it's the tenure or tracking, or however they do promotions in the faculty. And as long as we don't do that then that message is sent out that we don't value diversity. You expect me to volunteer more of my time to mentor, yet when it comes down to my evaluation, that time I spent mentoring doesn't count for diddly. And those folks that do it, bless their hearts, are the ones that don't tend to stick around because they get burned out. They tend to be in faculty of color.

This opinion, that diversity efforts should be integrated into the evaluation system, was also discussed in my interviews at Agribank. Lawton Elders, who like Lightfinger has said that minorities at Nova State often get over-utilized, indicated that a monetary

commitment was the most significant approach Nova State could take to get non-minority faculty interested in diversity:

Take for example, right now here in this new campaign for fundraising.

You have a lot of institution energy making it go. That's a huge priority.

Do the same thing on diversity! Make that a priority and put the money into it and say: "Hey, we're going to change the face of this institution. I say we want to be the most diversified institution of learning in the country."

That's a bold statement. But if you made a statement like this, you put the dollars into it. . . . If you want to make bold statements and do bold things, then you have to say this is an institutional mission and everybody's going to get on board.

Hintz, Lightfinger and Elders all also pointed out that it is the system of academe that keeps faculty from addressing diversity issues. For promotion and tenure, faculty are evaluated and promoted on research first and on teaching second. Trying to mentor and support students is arguably a good service activity for faculty, but it is not generally rewarded, thus it is not always in the best interests of faculty. The system does not set diversity up as an institutional priority. There were those like Morehouse who talked of restructuring the academic system in order to redistribute power. There were also those who had suggestions for re-designing the system developing greater responsibility in faculty for their role in enhancing diversity. Douglas Hintz proposed having different tracks for faculty when they entered the university structure:

I'd like to see us have a system where you give the minority member the choice, when they come in of being let's call them a diversity hire. Where their main job is to promote diversity on the campus outside of teaching. Or they can have a choice of coming in and not being a diversity hire, but being a "regular" faculty member. And they ought to be judged just like everybody else. And so when you grade that person out, you grade on a

research track like everybody else. The other person, you use a different set of criteria. But I would rather give the choice to the individual. Sort of have multiple tracks. But that wouldn't actually have to be limited to minority people either. If teaching is a high priority, which at this school may be debatable, maybe you'll wind up on the teacher's track. Somebody else comes in on the research track.

Margy Kaufman believed that simply educating faculty about their role in mentoring students could create changes in the system:

What needs to happen is that [faculty] need to see that their involvement in sort of mentoring students and helping students develop can extend beyond [registration]. Instead of advising students, having to sit down and go through their schedule with them, actually having more of a mentor kind of relationship with them. People can say: "Well, it would take more time." But I'm not sure that it would. It would mean, maybe, using their time just a little bit differently. Setting your priorities a little bit differently by saying to them: "Look, this could be in your best interests. You would end up having a greater sense of satisfaction with what you're doing here if you could figure out how to connect with these students."

Kaufman seemed to have a more affective than behavioral perspective on the issue of "best interests" and is assuming that faculty would be concerned about their involvement with students. In my interview with Ana Atamian, we discussed her belief that faculty must be educated about diversity issues and how their attitudes affect students. Efforts at Nova State to provide such exposure, Atamian told me, have been met with a lot of resistance from faculty, who treated the seminars with derision. What she felt would be more effective then was to present information in an intellectual rather than emotional way, and also to essentially slip information about diversity issues "under the rug":

Either overtly or covertly, anyone who can insinuate that content into the agenda is doing them a service. If you hold a seminar on effective ways to relate to students and you throw in content related to recognition of diversity and respect for culture, that's positive . . . It's subversive perhaps but sometimes you achieve [more] . . . If you put that up on the masthead when you're announcing a seminar -- "this seminar will help to make you effective with minority students" -- if you say "minority students", faculty [won't go]. [I'd list it as] something that would indicate that the content was going to create more effective communication in the workplace, something like that.

The type of education and initiatives that Atamian, as well as Morehouse and Rojas, suggested have been offered previously at Nova State. In the School of Education, professors Camilla Hastings and Janet Renkow have offered development workshops for fellow faculty on inclusive teaching methods. Renkow recently was awarded one of the diversity-centered fellowships to enhance multicultural education in the Northpoint community. What Hastings said, however, was that "the people who have always done these things will continue to." She added that in addition to the continual efforts of the choir, the "administration doesn't seem to know who its diversity people are" and that "there's always some new initiative and that keeps the administration able to say we're doing something for diversity." In my interview with Fernando Williams, he said essentially the same thing: "We have valuable resources around that can be of help. We don't need to start over.... But the people who go to [development workshops] are all people who are [interested]. But there are all these other people who aren't part of it."

The Choir and the Unconverted

Both Hastings' and Williams' comments led back to the conclusion I'd had at Agribank. Diversity programs need to find a way to not only move beyond the "choir" or the "converted", but to better utilize the choir it has in place. At the corporation, the choir would be those managers who are or could be taught to be committed to diversity. Nova State does have numerous faculty and staff who are concerned about and committed to enhancing diversity, and I spoke with many of them. These are individuals who can be called "the choir." The concept of "preaching to the choir" as a barrier to enhancing diversity emerged as a theme at Nova State in much the same way as it did at Agribank. Respondents at both sites felt that diversity training and education, as well as related diversity programs, missed the people they were targeted to meet: the unconverted or those who were not sensitive to diversity issues. Corporations address this obstacle by making training mandatory for every level of worker. Universities, possibly because of the issue of academic freedom, have a difficult time making certain educational experiences mandatory for faculty. As stated previously, Nova State has never made any of its diversity education programs mandatory for faculty.

What emerged as another central difference between Nova State and Agribank corporation was that many respondents at the university considered themselves to be "choir members. Only two respondents at Agribank corporation referred to themselves as members of the "choir" (La Huong and Monica Pearsall). There were more respondents at Nova State who were self-admitted choir members and they all expressed various forms of disillusionment, cynicism and anger about their experiences after having adopted this role. Some, like Lighfinger and Hastings, felt that the resistance to diversity at Nova State was a symptom of the national backlash against diversity evidenced by recent restrictions on affirmative action. Others respondents just expressed anger at how diversity is "managed" at Nova State, and the Blakemore Hall issue was often a touchstone for how they critiqued

the administrative response to diversity. Many faculty, as previously noted, commented on how service work is not rewarded, and as diversity work (mentoring, inclusive teaching, etc.) is often considered service, it was getting harder for them find the incentive to engage in it. Last, several respondents agreed that the lack of *mandatory* diversity education for faculty and staff remains a barrier to improving the climate for diversity.

Some respondents were more pessimistic than optimistic about the benefits of training classes for faculty, staff and students. Not only is only the choir being reached, according to some respondents, mandatory training can set up a backlash. Min Dong believed training can do more harm than good:

What you end up having at those dialogue things is people who already kind of believe in diversity are there, and people who don't aren't. At least, it'll get them to start thinking. But it's a catch-22 sometimes. Because some people might really "Well, I didn't know that." But then there's others who were learning through diversity how to be racist in a more subtle way.

Dong's comment reminded me of what two of the respondents at Agribank had said, that while training may have some positive effect for some people, for others it only teaches them "what not to say." Camilla Hastings believed training would create a backlash if it were made mandatory and expressed how this derives from a new ethos at the university that focuses on financial rather than social goals:

Right now it's a low time for morale for many of us. It looks like smoke and mirrors. No one wants to talk about anything. As far as institutional support, [there's] a deep sense of business as usual and I mean business from a corporate management sense. The corporate thrust is really moving ahead at Nova State. I think that for me and many others who've been here a while it's a big sellout of the university to the corporate world. The bottom line is money.

Hugo Sanchez and Byron Kindle, while acknowledging the potentially negative outcomes of "preaching to the choir" also felt that there were positive outcomes for the "unconverted" from diversity education that could be achieved over time. Sanchez stated:

I go to a lot of things where I look around and I think the people who should be here aren't here. And those of us that are really interested are there. Not because I need to learn any more, but because I have an automatic built-in interest. But then, I guess we just have to keep doing it. And I think if it's around long enough, and it's in enough people's faces long enough, I think it's going to become a part of them.

Kindle referred to this same "saturation point" phenomena regarding a non-mandatory diversity education seminar offered in his college:

The people that went to it probably weren't the ones that needed it. Very small number of people involved in it. Should we do it? Yeah. Impact? Very light. I find the younger faculty to be very receptive, and [they] will seek out training of that nature. The older faculty -- those older than 50 -- aren't interested. But if you sum all of this up, probably the most important thing is that you have an attitude of doing a lot of different things that send a signal and what you want to do is send the signal so that it gets to all the faculty and staff and students that this is important. It's a high priority. I think that's the most important thing you can do, is convey the importance of it. And then recognize that slowly with time it'll probably change a little.

The last part of Kindle's statement was reminiscent of Lawton Elder's insistence on making diversity a top institutional priority. How this priority would be evidenced to all constituents arguably would be through mandatory training. The new diversity course requirement provides this education for undergraduate students and many respondents believed this was a positive step for enhancing diversity at Nova State. One respondent, however, pointed out an obstacle to the requirements having a positive effect. Jerry Duke

stated that the "unconverted" will essentially try to meet the requirement as expediently as possible, without necessarily making any real change in attitude or understanding:

The people who always have respected those issues will continue to do so. And when we just start to impose requirements, people will go through the form. So we'll establish courses, and we'll designate certain courses as meeting a diversity requirement and it's primarily on the basis of title or apparent content. Without any serious attempt within the course to make students think about diversity issues . . . And I'm seeing that as the outcome. I saw it in our own department . . . We had to jump through this hurdle. So how can we do it most efficiently? Let's look down our list of courses. Here's one called *Individual Differences*. So we make up our list. But has anything seriously changed? Well, not much..

Two people who had solutions to preaching to the choir, or at least positive ways of assessing this phenomenon, were Priscilla Morehouse and Mohammed Benkh, a professor of art history. Morehouse seemed to see the "choir" as a necessary step in getting the entire population involved in diversity efforts:

Ultimately I'm hoping that by preaching to the choir that somebody will look at the choir and what it is they're doing and then they'll see how well things are working for the choir members. But I would say the initial ball has to be carried by those who are willing to be informed and willing to be included and want to participate in a different kind of way. So that hopefully others would look at them and become interested.

Morehouse, as mentioned previously, also believed in rewarding choir members financially, an idea shared by Benkh. He said of the limiting aspects of the "choir" phenomena:

There's a way around it, and one of the ways that I propose is to offer incentives. I proposed a excellence development of diversity instruction at

Nova State, which would offer a large award to any faculty member that integrates new material, diversity new material into their courses, or develops new courses. So by offering incentives like that, you can go beyond just the choir.

When I concluded interviews at Nova State, and began analyzing data, I realized that there were several common problems outlined between the university and Agribank corporation. The problems of "preaching to the choir", the need for expressing diversity as in one's best interests, as well as the lack of clear administrative support for diversity and accountability for constituents were common to both sites. Each institution, however, had unique benefits and limitations in its efforts to enhance diversity. What struck me most strongly was that the "solutions" to these problems, should either institution chose to enact them, are seemingly quite simple. It doesn't involve much money or even time, both of which have been heavily invested in each organization's diversity initiatives. I sensed that it was mainly a matter of the message being heard and the commitment being clear. Each institution had problems with its diversity-related education and programs, but these were not insurmountable. I'll explore these issues and their implications in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

In the two previous chapters, I have examined the climate, programs and outcomes of two different organizations, a corporation and a university. Through the analysis of both of these sites I have determined several commonalities. In this final chapter, I will explore the implications of these common elements, as well as return to the themes offered in Chapter Two to track if they were substantiated in the case study interviews.

The most obvious common distinction of both environments is the lack of diversity in the surrounding population. The cities of Belle Plaine and Northpoint are only 40 miles apart. Therefore, each institution contends with the same geographic and demographic limitations. Both have made efforts to bring in a more diverse population and have found that the psychological climate for difference needs to be enhanced in order to make this diversification more effective and long standing.

It is difficult to preach diversity at both environments, respondents argued, because there was such homogeneity in their populations. Most respondents, especially those at Nova State, felt that despite the lack of diversity, it is still important for the state population to learn about diversity as they are being prepared to live and work in a global society. At Agribank, numerous respondents saw the non-diverse population as a limitation; most of this group said that diversity training is useless if it cannot be lived. However, there were also many respondents at Agribank, managers in particular, who cited Agribank's expansion into foreign markets as an important "business case" reason for employees learning about cultural differences. At Nova state, several respondents emphasized the need for Nova state to prepare students for the "global society" and to diversify so that they will not someday be "bowled over" by diversity in society. Members of both institutions seem to understand the long-term need to enhance diversity for the future viability of the

organization, but both need to make this argument clearer to all constituents so that there will be more acceptance of diversity efforts.

The ambiguity of the rationale for enhancing diversity and offering diversity programs is a threat to diversity efforts at both environments. At the corporation, the "business case" for diversity, while believed to have been made clear by management, trainers and human resources, in my research was not. The academic form of "business case" are the necessities imposed by the impending "global society." While some respondents would say this, I determined that the implications of it need to be made far more known to faculty, administrators and especially students.

The second central factor common to both environments is the phenomena of diversity programs seemingly "preaching to the choir" In both sites, this is referred to as a limiting factor to the success of diversity training and programs, yet through this research I have determined that issue of "preaching to the choir" is one that can be overcome. Respondents at Nova State were more positive about this possibility than those at Agribank. Morehouse and Benkh in particular felt that the presence of a choir can actually influence others to change. Morehouse said that if the choir is rewarded, it provides an inspiration to others. Benkh believed, again, that incentives allow an institution to move beyond the "choir" as once people see how diversity can benefit them, they will in turn become converted to this way of thinking. At Agribank, Fritz Newman had a similar belief in that advocated a "trickle down" approach was the best way for change to be implemented for long term results. However, the corporate choir would arguably have to be comprised of managers, at they are at the administrative level where they would have the broadest influence. However, the corporate choir would arguably have to be comprised of managers, at they are at the administrative level where they would have the broadest influence. There is the implication from respondents at both institutions that people learn through example and observation to value diversity.

I believe that the corporate articulation of "preaching to the choir", as well as those of "common sense", "already diverse" and "golden rule" indicate that Agribank should "up the ante" in their training. The training may need to be about things that are not already understood or about levels of diversity that are not as "visible." As discussed in Chapter Four, some respondents at Agribank saw diversity just as what was "visible", namely race, ethnicity and disability. Diversity training should also be about the diversity people live with, what they have occasion to use. The population of Belle Plaine doesn't have much racial or ethnic diversity, but arguably there is benefit to Agribank's employees in learning more about gender and age issues, those diversity issues they more often encounter.

Another component of changing the focus of the diversity education at Agribank is stated in some adult education theory, namely the approach to facilitating learning by building prior knowledge, what adults in a training session know or feel they already know. The belief that adult teaching should be grounded in adult's experiences and that these experiences represent a valuable resource, is currently cited as crucial by adult educators of every conceivable ideological hue (Brookfield, 1995, p. 1). If employees at Agribank feel, as numerous respondents did, that they already understand diversity and are cultural "enlightened", then training might create better outcomes when it takes the approach of simply building on their past knowledge and experiences. Rather than seeming to try to educate employees on how to understand diversity, or trying to over-sell it, as many respondents said the training did, it might have better effect if it took the tack of "skill enhancement" rather than "skill-building."

Regarding the Agribank theme of "common sense", it's interesting to note that no one at Nova State University indicated that diversity training or education was "common sense." I have no definitive reason for why they didn't, but it seemed that they better understood how complex the issue of diversity is for a modern organization. Maybe too, this group of respondents were more willing than those at Agribank to admit that they didn't already understand everything about diversity.

The fourth common theme between these two organizations was the oft-proposed solution of making diversity in the "best interests" of constituents. This of course takes on a different tenor depending on the institution. As several respondents at Agribank indicated (Huong, O'Riarden, & Newman), best interests are tied to the business case for diversity, how understanding differences leads to better work relationships, greater productivity and in turn a better work environment for the individual. At Nova State, the issue of "best interests" was conveyed through the proposal of offering financial incentives to faculty to incorporate diversity into their teaching methods and curriculum. Several respondents there, like Ana Atamian, suggested that the objective of voluntarily bringing faculty into training would be better met if it is couched in the framework of being a better teacher rather than being a more culturally aware teacher. In this way, diversity is less threatening. The corporate business case concept can be expressed in a similar fashion; if diversity is approached more objectively than subjectively, people are more likely to accept it as part of the greater good for the organization, rather than as an affront to their personal performance and attitudes.

It is important here to further distinguish between the incentives typically offered at a university and those at a corporation. At Nova State, funds have been made directly available to those faculty who get involved with diversity efforts, mainly through various types of faculty development grants. To my knowledge, this form of personal incentive is not generally offered in a corporation. In this environment, "best interest" is expressed through either one's manager requiring it or the company making the case clearly in their best interest and thus in the employees'. In either case, this is backed by a behavioral structure. If the employee doesn't make these changes, the consequence is loss of the job. One could argue that because of this threat, the attitudinal change is more likely to be embraced or to occur. By the university's relying on "self-interest" over "best interest", they are going to miss reaching many people, namely those who are not motivated by compensation and those who simply aren't interested in enhancing diversity. At the

corporation, while the directive is more forced, more people will be reached and possibly this behavioral change will over time lead to an attitudinal one.

The fifth theme common to both Agribank and Nova State, which is related to "best interests" concerns management support. Respondents at both environments agreed that without visible administrative commitment, no program can be successful. At Agribank, several respondents spoke of how their managers were not openly committed to diversity and how that limited their adoption of diversity-related concepts and practices. At Nova State, this discussion centered around the actions of President Jaffari, especially in relation to the Blakemore Hall controversy. While Jaffari has his supporters, numerous respondents felt that his commitment to diversity is not genuine and that it needs to be more visible. Indeed, in the set of recommendations the Diversity Council submitted to Jaffari in 1994, simply making his commitment visible was one of the main suggestions. Jaffari had, in fact, agreed to. Based on the results of my research, I would say this has yet to happen.

Possibly the most central commonality between Agribank and Nova State stems from respondents' views on the interplay between attitudes, awareness and behavior, whether or not attitudes can be changed as the result of diversity programs. In both sites, respondents felt it was far easier and more likely for diversity education and programs to create an awareness than it is for them to engender attitudinal change. There were many respondents, though, who seemed to indicate that over time and continual exposure to these issues, attitudinal change may occur. As stated in the previous chapters, I found that trying to gauge attitudinal change brings up the issue of whether or not people felt attitudes could be changed at all. Arguably, whether one can see evidence of attitudinal change will depend on whether one thinks it's possible. If one does not, it will be arguably tougher to see such a result. Furthermore, there was a pervasive attitude that behavior could be altered more easily than attitude and that this might be the most effective direction for diversity programs to take.

Now that I have explored the common themes between the environments, I would like to return to the themes derived from the literature review, and expanded upon in Chapter Two. In the corporate literature, the success of diversity programs depended on a cultural audit, management support and sustained efforts. Agribank did not take a cultural audit prior to training and use this information to direct curriculum development. I believe that if they had, they would have illuminated some of the barriers to the training being effective that I explored in Chapter 4. The themes of common sense, participants seeing themselves as "already diverse", the concept of the golden rule and how participants seem to value the performance over diversity (and how the two are seen as mutually exclusive) may have emerged in a cultural audit. I believe these four factors could have been better addressed in training. Furthermore, as age and gender emerged as diversity issues in my interviews, I believe a formal audit might also have revealed this and caused Agribank to focus more on age and generational issues in their diversity training.

What did seem to work well at Agribank was a very hands-on focus where training participants learned not only the business case for diversity but also what diversity consisted of and clear examples and skills they could use to manage it. This literal approach seems very important in the training, as there is not a lot of diversity in the geographic area or the organization. This panel approach, as stated by various respondents in Chapter 4, is considered to be a successful way of exposing employees to what "visible" diversity is present at Agribank (race, ethnicity, disability, etc). In addition, as previously stated, it seems necessary that Agribank educate its employees on how diversity applies to factors that are present even in a more homogenous society. Rather than assuming diversity means race and ethnicity, Agribank could help employees understand that diversity is also constituted by qualities that cannot necessarily be seen (sexual orientation, religion, age, etc.).

The second result determined from the corporate literature was the need for management support to make a diversity program effective. This assertion was affirmed in

my interviews at Agribank. The need for this support is evidenced by the comments of various respondents, in particular Monica Pearsall who said that senior management needed to be "strapped down" and made to listen to training and Devon Ayers, who said that managers are being trained but that the white male managers "aren't getting it". In addition to comments specifically about management, there were many managers who I spoke with who said they felt it was reasonable that they be evaluated partially on their ability to manage diversity-related objectives. This component of evaluation is not currently in place. Wide-spread management support seemingly is not either and this lack may be the biggest barrier to successful diversity efforts at Agribank. Follow-up training and continual emphasis on diversity would likely help generate greater outcomes and creating this support doesn't have to require a great investment of time or money. Put simply, employees need to know that their managers care about enhancing diversity. Managers need to send this message. If they don't provide this direction, there is no reason why their employees would follow it on their own, and arguably doing so might even jeopardize their job. As Eric Linstrom said, managers at Agribank are evaluated on business results, not their efforts for enhancing diversity. If upper management on down makes diversity a regular part not only evaluation, but also of staff meetings and strategic planning, this would send a message to employees that I believe would create a better acceptance of the diversity program and the business case for diversity at Agribank.

The last corporate result from the literature was "continual efforts", which like "management support", was clearly substantiated in my research at Agribank. Agribank does make a lot of effort towards enhancing diversity. Unlike many corporations, they sponsor fellowships to minority students, and they host cultural groups, lunch and learn sessions and other cultural events related to diversity. They even offer domestic partner health coverage to their gay and lesbian employees unlike any other employer in the area. They have not, however, offered follow-up diversity training and do not plan to do so. They also have not insisted that diversity-related issues be a part of the organizational

development efforts of their work units. Without these efforts, the diversity training, as was stated in the literature, will not likely have long-term effects. This condition was also stated by the respondents at Agribank; it is difficult for them to take diversity seriously if the program and the content expressed therein has not been and is not going to be reinforced.

The three factors determined in the academic review of literature are "faculty and staff development", "diverse teaching methods" and "diverse curriculum." All three issues were addressed by the respondents in my research at Nova State. Faculty and staff development was the area that is least addressed in this environment as at present, there is no required diversity training for faculty and staff. Efforts to organize some have not had much effect. The 40 facilitators the Diversity Council trained in 1992 were under-utilized, and there was no organizational vehicle for which to encourage departments to go through diversity training sessions. At present, the Human Resource Department at Nova State does provide a course called *Discussing Diversity*, and it is available for anyone in the university community to take. Thus far approximately 100 constituents have taken this course. There seems to be a lot of ideological resistance to mandatory training at Nova State and at universities in general. Staff members don't feel it is fair that they be required to take it when faculty are not. Faculty seem to feel that being required to go through training undercuts the privileges of academic freedom, whereby they are able to espouse and maintain views without interference from university administration. I believe this is a conundrum, and unless Nova State finds a way around it, I don't think faculty, who have a strong role in how climate is perceived, will change either their behavior or their attitudes. In my experiences at this site, I have found this to be an institution that spends a significant amount of time and money on diversity, without having created a better climate for diversity or solved most of its diversity-related problems.

Nova State seems to have been far more successful with addressing new teaching methods and diverse curriculum. In the past two years, there have been grants awarded to

faculty specifically for the development of diverse teaching methods. Janet Renkow used her award to develop a multicultural school for elementary students in the city of Northpoint. To note, both Camilla Hastings and Janet Renkow are in education and had been working in the area of multiculturalism long before these grants were made available. The central issue thus becomes whether or not people who were not previously interested in diversity will also apply for this funding. Nova State is also at present trying to hire a director for the African-American studies program, a director of Affirmative Action and two faculty members for the Latino/Latina studies program. Whether or not the faculty development grant program, or the addition of new faculty and teaching methods create changes, are important areas for future study.

The last result from the academic literature review concerns diverse curriculum, and this is an area that Nova State is addressing by its recent adoption of the six-credit diversity course requirement for undergraduates. While there was a large debate in the Faculty Senate over this requirement, it went through and the Fall, 1997 semester marked the launch of this requirement. Tracking the outcomes of these courses and how they might shape student attitudes is also an important subject for future study.

Overall, there are several implications in this study that effect the future of diversity programs at both environments. First, no program will be successful without visible commitment from the administration. Without this, there is no incentive, personal or professional, for someone to adopt new behaviors or attitudes. Along with this commitment, there must also be continual efforts towards diversity-related goals. These need not cost money. I found that at both Agribank and Nova State no department or unit seemed to have diversity ranked high on their organizational agendas. Making this a subject for staff meetings alone would be a positive step. Also, if current diversity programs alienate people by seeming to be rehashing things they already know, or addressing people who are already "converted", then institutions need to change the programs they have in place. This might be by making the content more challenging by

possibly veering away from typical areas of diversity to ones that are less developed or building on the past experiences of the individual learners. By making diversity "as attractive a thing as possible" as Fritz Newman said, more people are likely to be interested in it. Each institution must continue to develop ways to make enhancing diversity attractive to its constituents. In this dissertation, I examined one that offered some behavioral incentives (Agribank) and one that offered financial (Nova State University). Neither impetus has been a complete enhancement for either institution's diversity efforts.

Arguably, more research needs to be conducted on the specific barriers for enhancing diversity at each institution. Broadly, these questions might be: What factors keeps members of a minority from being successful in a particular organization? What psychological barriers keep constituents from accepting diversity education? How does each institution help its administration to accept and promote diversity? More specifically, a researcher could go back into each site and examine the impact of particular elements. For example, at Nova State, what affective and behavioral changes will result from the diversity course requirements for undergraduates, if any? How do faculty specifically address diversity issues in their classes? Would mandatory diversity training for this population make a difference in the climate for diversity at the organization? Not only are there areas of future research, there is a rich amount of data at this site which could be further examined. The climate survey results, the diversity strategic plan, the work of the Diversity Council and the various cultural studies programs and minority groups all present sources from which to conduct closer and greater analysis.

Agribank did not provide me with nearly the amount of data that was made available to me at Nova State. As mentioned previously, I was given a copy of the facilitator training manual and I used it to clarify activities respondents referred to. A greater analysis of this document might generate more data. In addition, a more ethnographic approach to conducting research at this corporation, namely by sitting in training classes and working more closely with respondents at the site, would likely generate broader and richer data that

what I uncovered. I did not leave Agribank with as many questions as I had left Nova State with, as I believe that the issues at this institution are clearer-cut. I believe that the diversity efforts there set a good example for employees and have generated an awareness, but that without more continual efforts, more visible management support and a greater integration of diversity into performance and evaluation, this organization will not see many long term outcomes from their diversity training program. Areas for future study might center around efforts that would address these deficiencies. What would result from a diversity program driven specifically by managers and not human resources? If there was a greater focus on the business case for diversity, and greater support and emphasis from managers, would a future program generate more attitudinal change?

In conclusion, this study, like qualitative research of this design, is not only about illuminating experiences, but also about generating new questions. The answers to all of the questions outlined in this dissertation, and others I cannot yet conceive, will arguably prove vital to the future of diversity initiatives at both Agribank and Nova State University, as well as many corporate and academic institutions.

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*pseudonym

APPENDIX A

Corporate Protocol:

What is your job?

How do you define diversity?

How does (institution)?

What is the climate like here for diversity?

What negative or positive incidents have occurred regarding diversity?

What objectives for managing this issue have you or your institution set?

What is your responsibility in meeting these objectives?

When did you go through training?

What was the training like?

What goes wrong with this approach?

What goes well?

Give me an example of something (positive/negative/surprising) that came out in the class.

What positive and negative outcomes from the training have you determined?

Did you see any changes in your or your co-workers' attitudes as a result of training?

How could the training be done differently?

Can we change people's attitudes?

How has your perspective on diversity changed over time and experience?

Higher Education Protocol:

What is your role in the diversity initiative at Nova State?

How do you define diversity?

How does Nova State?

What is the climate like here for diversity issues?

What positive or negative incidents have occurred?

Were you involved in any training or diversity education efforts?

If so, what went well with this approach?

What didn't go well?

Give me an example of something (positive/negative/surprising) that came out of the diversity initiative here?

What outcomes from these activities have you determined?

Have there been any attitudinal changes?

If you were responsible for designing the diversity program at Nova State, what would you do?

Can we change people's attitudes?

How has your perspective on diversity changed over time and experience?

APPENDIX B

AGRIBANK NAME AND JOB TITLE LIST

Ron Morris, Human Resource Director
Kevin Monahan, Repair Technician
Ann Everett, Systems Analyst
Kim Elberts, Administrative Assistant
Larry Levine, Sales Representative
Alex Fredon, Account Specialist
Steve Buxton, Vice President of Marketing
Diane Koviak, Accountant
Devon Ayers, Manager, Information Systems
Hunter Sprague, Human Resources Division Head
Louis Schraft, Assistant Vice President of Finance
Fritz Newman, Compensation Analyst
Tashika Oanangu, Administrative Assistant
Stu Varson, Maintenance Supervisor
Jason Simons, Computer Programmer
Ben Adkins, Portfolio Manager
Dobie Franken, Telephone Systems Analyst
Peter Dunster, Customer Service Representative
Andy Massoli, Computer Programmer
Kathy Engler, Payroll Administrator
Cindy Perte, Paralegal
Brian O'Riarden, Building Engineer
Eric Linstrom, Investment Analyst
Dave Dreyfus, Senior Account Executive
Brianna Kimbrel, Director of Marketing Communications
Jenna Davis, Manager, Data Processing Division
La Huong, Securities Consultant
Mary Mercer, Transcriber
Monica Pearsall, Corporate Trainer

APPENDIX C

NOVA STATE UNIVERSITY NAME AND JOB TITLE LIST

Elizabeth Moarow, Benefits Administrator
Else McClennan, Staff Member who worked with the Diversity Council
Ana Atamian, Former Chair of the Diversity Council
Syra Baka, Literature Professor
Byron Kindle, Assistant Provost for Continuing Education
Jerry Duke, Assistant Dean of the Law School
Ray Gorman, Professor of Psychology
Edna Barry, Director of Housing, Former Chair of the Diversity Council
Douglas Hintz, University Publications
Norma Marsden, Legal Counsel
Camilla Hastings, Director of the Nova State Foundation for Women in Education and
Professor of Education
Priscilla Morehouse, Director of Peer Advocacy and Instructor in African-American Studies
Bill Lightfinger, Faculty Director of the Student Advisory Council
Margie Kaufman, Professor of Women's Studies
Lawton Elders, Alumni Development Director
Fernando Williams, Professor of Journalism
Hugo Sanchez, Professor of Latin American Studies
Min Dong, Student who served in the Diversity Council
Beverly Jackson, Financial Aid Administrator
Michael Rojas, Associate Professor of Political Science and Diversity Advisor to President
Jaffari
Muhammed Benkh, Professor of Art History
Janet Renkow, Professor of Education
Gary Paciorek, Professor of Math and Computer Science
Enid Canton, Director of Health Care Studies